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Echoes from
old calcutta,

2nd ed.

Year: 1888

Sub: History

Place: Calcutta

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Echoes From Old Calcutta.,

Pages i-iv missing.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

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e First Edition of this book met with a more generous reception n the writer could have reasonably expected.

n the hope of making the Second Edition more worthy of the our of its readers, the book has been submitted to thorough sion, which has resulted in the greater part of it being ritten. The Chapters have been re-arranged, and much matter has been supplied to each. An ampler selection is n from the letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, to which ve been added a few characteristic specimens of letters written Mrs. Hastings, all hitherto unpublished. A short extra hapter and an Appendix also appear in the present Edition. he first article, which has now been expanded into a long one, eats of an event in Indian history long anterior in point of time the period mainly contemplated in the title page. Still the ubject is one which almost of necessity finds a place in any book urporting to speak of Old Calcutta. Two of the views illustrating his article (*i.e.*, the Frontispiece and that at page 21) were drawn Mr. S. de Wilde from data supplied by me. The available formation regarding the structural or architectural features of Old rt William is too meagre to admit of accuracy in representing em. These views therefore are but approximate restorations a portion of a building which has long ceased to exist. What been chiefly aimed at in them is, to show the relative ition of the rooms, verandah and other details, referred to by mporaries, nearest to the barrack cell; so that the reader may readily understand what the Black Hole really was, and how tims got entrapped. Allusion has been made in the text to range misconception which rather widely existed—even in

Calcutta itself—on these points, from a period not very long a the occurrence of the notorious calamity.

I have to express my thanks to Major W. Antrobus Holw recently residing in Canada, now in Jamaica, for kindly pla at my disposal photographs of two old family portrai great-grandfather. One of these has been reproduced volume. The photograph of the other (a picture of great histor interest, in which the chief survivor of the Black Hole is see superintending the erection of a monument to his "fellow-suffere did not take in all the figures and details, and for this and o reasons was, I regret, considered not well adapted for reproduc on a small scale.

The frequent topographical allusions throughout the book s that it was originally written for Calcutta readers especi Though it professes to be mainly a mere gossiping volume of li reading, dealing chiefly with social Anglo-Indian life during a ve interesting period in the last century, let me venture to say that have spared no effort to at least try to make it historically acc rate—so far as it goes—even in trivial details. The materials f the following sketches have been gathered in many instances fr perishable sources not easily accessible, such as old graveyar decaying newspapers and records, and similar chronicles, whic Father Time and his devastating allies seem to devour more hungri in India than anywhere else, to the irreparable loss of the search after trustworthy historical evidence. Wherever I could find cotemporary authority (even though comparatively obscure) whi the ravages of the white ants and the damp, &c., had still spared have made use of it in preference to any other. "The only hist worth reading is that written at the time of which it treats; history of what was done and seen, heard out of the mouths those who did and saw. One fresh draught of such histor worth more than a thousand volumes of abstracts and reaso and suppositions and theories" (Ruskin).

1888. H. I

ECHOES FROM OLD CALCUTTA.

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CHAPTER I.

THE BLACK HOLE, 1756.

1.—The Capture of Calcutta.

We have always thought it strange that while the history of the nish Empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of pe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even ng ourselves, excite little interest.

. . . . . .

It might have been expected that every Englishman who takes interest in any part of history, would be curious to know how a dful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense an, subjugated in the course of a few years one of the greatest pires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is to t readers not only insipid, but positively distasteful."—*Macaulay.*

HE indifference thus reflected on by the historian is not ined to the English re ing at home; it characterizes them n they come to live in India also. But if the sojourners in ia manifest a want of acquaintance with, or but little interest. arly Indo-British history, the reason may partly be found in circumstance that the majority of Europeans come to India real hard work, and that, engrossed in the busy present, they not concern themselves with the past. This, perhaps, is ially the case of those whose lot is cast in the large centres ommercial and official activity. Speaking for Calcutta, where is always at high pressure, the past seems, almost of necessity, e a sealed book, which it would be unprofitable to open; and generation of the present goes on, knowing or caring little generations which dwelled there before it.

[illegible] ry a[illegible] scen[illegible]
[illegible], and in its reco[illegible] something of [illegible]
[illegible]ical life of their predecessors. Such a retrospect, being profitless or dull, would at least enable them to t[illegible] intelligent interest in the many sites and scenes in their [illegible] which are intimately associated with memorable events, and the historic names of their own countrymen, and which are daily passed by without even curiosity being awakened, becau[illegible] little is known of those who flourished or who faded in Calcut[illegible] the olden time.

The twentieth of June is associated with an event w[illegible] occurred in the infancy of the chief city in India, for which it [illegible] be for ever notorious. So universal is this notoriety, that per[illegible] it is no exaggeration to say that the words "The Black Hol[illegible] Calcutta" have grown into a proverbial expression of compar[illegible] peculiarly suggestive, among all English-speaking and Euro[illegible] nations.

The facts about the taking of Calcutt[illegible] in 1756, and the tra[illegible] in which it culminated, are of course known in a general wa[illegible] most readers, and familiarly to the students of history; still it [illegible] be worth while to retell, in the interest of the busy and the cu[illegible] a few of the leading events which led up to, attended on, [illegible] followed the capture of the settlement, when struggling into grow[illegible] to enter into one or two topographical details connecting old [illegible] modern sites, which may seem necessary for illustration; and [illegible] unbury a few of the half-forgotten names of those actors w[illegible] played their parts in the scenes, which chiefly conspired to sta[illegible] the main incidents with the notoriety attaching to them.

It may be conv[illegible]ient to mention at once, so as to avoid [illegible] necessity of too f[illegible]equently particularizing references while going [illegible] that recourse shall be had for facts, to the original contempo[illegible] authorities (first hand) on whom writers on the subject have re[illegible] by this means an opportunity may be afforded to the gleane[illegible] picking up occasional details of circumstances, which the hist[illegible] either omits as not essential to his narrative, or disposes [illegible] general terms.

The authorities alluded to are the Blue Book containing [illegible] report of the Select Committee of the House of Co[illegible]

bled in 1772 to enquire into the state of British affairs in the Indies; it gives the evidence of several who had been in gal during the war; amongst others of Clive, and of Mr. Cooke, had been Secretary to the Governor and Council of Calcutta 1756, and one of the survivors of the Black Hole. Public letters dressed to the Court of Directors from Fulta in 1756, and one om London in 1757, by J. Z. Holwell, the historian *par excellence* f the Black Hole. These letters were written when all the ircumstances to which they related were recent, and when there was no lack of living testimony to controvert any statements which his most able writer may have put on record.

Another original authority which shall be placed under contribution may be also stated here. Amongst the Hastings manuscripts in the British Museum, may be found two detailed accounts of the siege and capture of old Fort William. The first of these is closely written in a clerkly hand on several sheets of foolscap; it has been corrected in its spelling and punctuation in many places, at a date apparently long subsequent to the original writing. The narrative bears internal evidence of being the composition of a junior civil servant who was an actor in the scenes which he describes.*

The second occupies fourteen pages of foolscap; judging by the erasures and corrections it seems to be the original itself. It was written from Fulta immediately after the taking of Calcutta, and author was Captain Grant, the Adjutant-General. There is nothing to show to whom it was addressed. It begins thus:—"As the siege of Calcutta and Fort William and the causes of the loss of them will undoubtedly be represented in various ways, I think ny duty as well as my having had once the honour of your acquaintance and countenance, require that I give you at least the particulars of the military transactions which my having been appointed o act as Adjutant-General during the troubles enable me to do, with more certainty than I could had I been stationed at any particular post." The fact of Warren Hastings having preserved these ccounts suggests that he attached historical value to them. They o not differ in any material way from the accounts available from ther contemporary sources; but they add occasional details which have not found in any other writings on the subject, and this

* In the same volume of the Hastings MSS. is also a long account of the ure of the Kásimbázár Factory in June, 1756; whether or not written by thor of the Calcutta capture is not very clear.

inclines me to believe that they have not hitherto been con for historical or literary purposes.

Ali Vardi Khan closed his long life at Murshidábád in A 1756, and was succeeded in the Viceroyalty of Bengal, etc., by grandson (who was also his grand nephew), Mirza Mahmo young in years, but old in vice; a weak pampered despot known history by his title of Siraj ud Dowla (Lamp of the State).

The young Nawab very soon found pretexts for quarrelling with th English settled in his province, in furtherance probably of a long formed design founded on the anticipation of getting possession of th vast wealth which rumour credited them with having accumulated They had lately harboured at Calcutta and refused to give up a subject of the Nawab's whom he accused of absconding with re venue that had not been accounted far. They had also stupidly neglected to send to Murshidábád the customary congratulations and presents on a change in the Soubaship. This gave rise to a suspicion that the English presumed to look with disapproval on Siraj ud Dowla's elevation, and were disposed to favour some of the other aspirants to the Musnud, as Ali Vardi's nomination of his grandson to succeed him, was by no means generally acquiesced in throughout the state. It so happened that the English were commencing about this time to repair their fortifications at Calcutta in expectation of a rupture with the French; this came to the ears of the Nawab as he was setting out with a large army to chastise his cousin and rival, the Raja of Purnea. He at once sent orders that the repairs should be discontinued.* An expostulation from Cal

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* According to Holwell, Siraj ud Dowla, in attacking the English, acted on th advice of the old Nawab, given solemnly a few days before his death. "Kee in view," the old man is alleged to have said, "the power the Europea nations have in the country. Think not to weaken all three together. Th power of the English is great. Reduce them first: the others will give yo little trouble when you have reduced them. Suffer them not to have fortific tion or soldiers." Holwell's statement about this was challenged by some his contemporaries, but he maintained its accuracy and gave some confi mation of it. It is inconsistent with what the Mahomedan historian sa he heard Ali Vardi say some years previously, when urged by his favouri general, Mustapha Khan, to attack Calcutta. The old Viceroy put this advi down to what would to-day be called "jingoism," and remarked to his son-i law, "Mustapha is a soldier who lives by his sabre; but what wrong have th English done me that I should wish them ill?" Then he added words whi the French translator of the Persian thus renders in English, and whi show that the sagacious Ali Vardi recognized the formidable greatne England on the sea. "Look at yonder plain covered with grass; sh

him at Rajmehal, and proving anything but satisfac-
he Purnea expedition aside, and directed the march
Murshidábád, sending forward a large detachment
Company's fort at Kásimbázár, close to his capital.
June the Nawab himself was back at Murshidábád,
threats, partly by treachery, he managed to seize Mr.
her officials at Kásimbázár, and to get possession of
th all its guns, ammunition, stores, etc. (4th June).
nd ample success of this the first act of hostility put
heart for following it up; he had encountered no
e was now well provided with artillery; what was to
from driving the foreigners out of Calcutta also, and
d plundering their settlement, if he only acted with
and vigour before they could proceed further with
s, and before the season of the south-west monsoon
d enough to bring them assistance by sea? He imme-
ut for Calcutta by forced marches so as to get over the
e the daily-expected rains should delay his progress.
of the forces constituting his army have been variously
dopting those given in the Adjutant-General's, and the
ript above alluded to, he had with him 30,000 foot,
, 400 trained elephants, and 80 pieces of cannon, most
t guns taken at Kásimbázár. About 20,000 of his
armed with muskets, matchlocks, and wall pieces, the
nces, swords, bows and arrows, etc. Fully 40,000
d banditti of all sorts are said to have attended the
e part in the plunder of Calcutta, so strong was the con-
e success of the expedition. Messrs. Watts and Collet
d the march as prisoners in the Nawab's camp. In
this host covered the distance between Murshidá-
ugli whence, and from Chandernagore, the immediate
the river was effected in an immense fleet of boats as-
ere for the purpose. From the French and Dutch fac-

---

would be no stopping its progress, and who is the man then
re that shall break forth at sea and from thence come
e of lending an ear to such proposals again, for they
vil." The truth probably is that Ali Vardi modified
hile quite alive to the advantages of Europeans
that they should confine themselves to trading,
into Bengal, and become too military;

tories Siraj ud Dowla demanded submission, and ai
prise, but they pleaded their peaceful trading oc
appeased him with promises of substantial donations

Meanwhile, how was Calcutta prepared for the
visitation? On the 1st of June they knew that K
threatened, but not till the 7th did authentic info
them that it had fallen without striking a blow,
immediate descent on the chief settlement was propo
the Nawab's intention of marching on Calcutta was kn
time," naively writes the Adjutant-General, "to enquir
of defence of a garrison neglected for so many years, and
of it lulled in so infatuate a security, that every rupe
military services was esteemed so much loss to the Co

The Company's factory at Calcutta was built quite a
the seventeenth century. When permission was
enclosing it, it was fortified and called a fort, and
William the Third. The building, which was of bricky
cemented, lay on the river bank about half way betwe
and south extremities of the Company's territory;
pretty nearly the site now comprised between Coelah
and Fairlie Place. In shape, it is described as an irreg
the east and west curtains being longer than the nor
the two latter sides being of unequal length. It had
the outer walls or curtains were scarcely four feet thi
about 18 feet high; their terraces were merely the roof
and warerooms below. Large windows were in se
opened through the curtains for the ventilation of
contiguous to them. A little less than half the facto
site the enclosure then called "the park and great tan
still such a notable feature in "Lall Diggee." The m
projected from the east curtain, and carried guns; th
in it would look out on what was then known as "
leading to the eastward"—in later years it was ca
Bungalo Road," now recognized as Dalhousie Squ
continued into Lall Bazaar, etc.

Under the west face on the river's brink, was
mounted in embrasures of masonry.

This so-called fort was unprotected by an
out-work, and was overlooked by sever
scattered near it, some of which were e
also commanded by the

rn end of the present Bengal Government ("writer's") build-
Finally, in spite of remonstrance from the Court of Directors,
pparently from some of the local military officers, the whole of
ensive work had been allowed to fall into such a state of bad
as to be quite unfit to resist any well-organized attack. The
and terraces were so generally shaky as not to admit of
being used on them. The defensive fire was mainly
ed to that from the bastions and gate. The weakest part of
rt was the south side, as there, for the purpose of providing
sed accommodation, warehouses called "the new go-downs"
been built a few years before the period we are concerned
These are described as being constructed "contiguous to
outh curtain." They occupied the space between the south-
ern and south-eastern bastions, and intercepted the flanking fire
nese. To compensate for this military blunder, the roof was
e strong enough to carry a battery of light guns.

In June, 1756, the Governor of the settlement was Roger Drake.
e garrison proper consisted of about 180 men, only a third of
om were Europeans; they had never had any active military
ining. They were under five officers; of these Captain Buchanan
s the only one of any great experience. To supplement the
ting strength, the European and Armenian inhabitants were
lled as militia; most of these had never handled a musket before.
ns also were enlisted in large numbers for quasi-military duty,
showed their zeal by deserting at the earliest opportunity.
ll adapted as the Fort was for defence (it was in reality much
s so than that at Kâsimbázár), still the best hope of a protracted
lding out, till relief or withdrawal offered by the river, lay in
sting to it, and in concentrating the garrison and European
habitants within it, having first demolished as many as possible
the adjacent houses overlooking it. Unfortunately, the Fort was
onounced incapable of defence, and it was arranged by the too
any counsellors who were suffered to have a voice in the matter,
meet the enemy in the principal streets and avenues, and at
provised outposts. No better scheme for spreading out and
sting the untrained and insufficient defending force could have
en devised. It is very evident, from the cotemporary records,
ow little Calcutta realized, even at the eleventh hour, what an
avalanche was about to burst on it. One writer (Hastings' MSS.)
says, "The military were very urgent for demolishing all the
houses, knowing that if once the enemy got possession of the white
houses, there would be no standing on the factory walls. However,

the pulling down the houses was a thing they would not tl
not knowing whether the Company would reimburse th
money they cost." Captain Grant says, on the same head,-

"It may be justly asked, why we did not propose t
method, that as I thought then, and do now, could give
least chance of defending the place in case of a vigorous a
the demolition of all the houses adjacent to the Fort, a
rounding it with a ditch and glacé? But so little credit wa
given, and even to the very last day, that the Nawab would ve
to attack us or offer to force our lines, that it occasioned a ge
grumbling and discontent to leave any of the European h
without them. . . . And should it be proposed by any pe
to demolish as many houses as should be necessary to make
fort defensible, his opinion would have been thought pusilanin
and ridiculous." Further on, however, this authority gives anot
reason, viz., that both time and gunpowder were wanting for
necessary destruction of buildings. Trenches and breastwor
were therefore made, and all the narrow passes leading to the tow
were obstructed by ditches. "Intrenchments," writes the juni
civilian, "were begun to be thrown up across the park, and a ravel
to defend the front gate of the factory, but had no time to finish then

Three principal outlying batteries were also constructed a
mounted. One about 300 yards in front of the main gate (ab
where now stands the Scotch church). Another to the so
of the Fort, at the edge of a creek leading to the Salt-wa
Lake (*i.e.*, at the corner of the old burial ground, about wh
Hastings Street, Council House Street, and Government Place n
meet). The third was to the north on the bank of the riv
(about at the foot of Clive-ghât Street). A large number of peo
and burkundauzes occupied posts at the Mahratta Ditch, bu
they went over to the enemy. In fact, with their small force, n
serious attempt was made to defend this work, though it was du
only three or four years before. It covered the settlement onl
on the north and east; it was abandoned before being continue
to the south. The English also endeavoured to get assistance fro
the neighbouring Dutch and French factories. The former begge
to be excused; the latter offered a defensive and offensive allianc
provided the English would quit their settlement for Chanderna
gore, whose fort could be much better defended. "We wrote the
latter a very genteel letter," says the indignant young civilian,
"thanking them for their offer of assistance, and as we were in
very great want of ammunition, requested they would spare us a

quantity of powder and shot. To this we had no reply till the Nabob was near Calcutta, when the Frenchmen put off their grimace, assuring us of the impossibility of complying with our demand, as they might provoke the Nabob by it. That we should expect the French would assist us and be dupes to that fantastical nation is most intolerable. However, when the Nabob demanded supplies of powder from them soon after, they could then find sufficient to give him 150 barrels, and could convince us also at the desertion of near 30 men, which joined the Nabob's army before the taking of Calcutta, and commanded the artillery under Monsieur St. Jacque." Captain Grant, the Adjutant-General, also mentions the presence of Europeans with Siraj ud Dowla's army at Calcutta. I have seen this fact stated nowhere else, save in these two manuscript accounts. Grant says they learned from prisoners taken while the attack was going on, that the enemy had with them "25 Europeans and 80 Chittygong Fringeys, under the command of one who styled himself Le Marquis de St. Jaque, a French renegard (*sic*), for the management of their artillery." The English also had a French lieutenant fighting on their side, a Monsieur Le Beaume, who Grant says "was a French officer and left Chandernagore on a point of honour." He behaved very gallantly before he escaped.

The result of the "tragedy of errors," as Holwell calls the hurried preparations for defence, which were all in the wrong direction, was that on the evening of the 18th June, on which the enemy had surrounded the town, they were in possession of all the outposts on which the chief dependence had been placed, and had driven the English inside the Fort.

On the 16th, the enemy first appeared to the northward of Calcutta and tried to force an entrance there, but being warmly received by a battery at Perrin's Point (Chitpur), they turned off eastwards towards Dum Dum, and from that direction on the morning of the 18th swarmed all round the town, plundering and setting fire to every bazaar in their way. On the 17th, the English also set fire to as many bazaars as they could to their front and to the south as far as Govindpore, "when many of our people being detected plundering, were instantly punished with decapitation."

On the 18th, they issued orders that no quarter was to be given, as the jails could hold no more prisoners, and naturally enough they apprehended that the Nawab's forces would similarly retaliate. The brunt of the fighting on this day fell on the outpost which first received the enemy coming from the eastward. The battery

stationed with this object opposite the Mayor's Court was partly held by a detachment of the militia, commanded by Holwell. It was in a very exposed position, and was very obstinately defended. So heavy was the fire on it from the points of vantage near, that only the men necessary to work the guns were at last allowed to remain in it; the rest got under cover within the Court house and took up the places from time to time of those who were shot down.

At length Captain Clayton, the military officer in charge, directed Holwell to go to the Fort at 5 p.m. to report the state of things and get orders. Holwell returned with orders from the Governor to withdraw, "and to spike up the cannon we could not bring off." But, unfortunately, they seem to have been unable to drag away any of the guns, save one field-piece, the heaviest of which (18-pounders) were afterwards turned against their position with disastrous effects. The loss of this battery led to the recall of all the others with undue precipitancy, and finally to the abandonment on that night or following morning, of all the outposts, including one at the Governor's house (present Metcalfe Hall), which exposed the southern defence, and a ghat leading down to the river.

In addition to those carrying arms, who with their families retreated to the Fort, there were also huddled together about 3,000 "unnecessary people," variously styled "black Christians," Portuguese, "slaves," &c., who all sought refuge, and added to the consternation and confusion. "Provisions," writes the Adjutant-General, "had been laid in, but proper persons had not been appointed to look after them; and the general desertion of the black fellows, amongst whom were all the cooks, left us to starve in the midst of plenty. All the men at the outposts had no refreshment for twenty-four hours, which occasioned constant complaint and grumbling all this night. We were so abandoned by all sorts of labourers, that we could not get carried up on the ramparts cotton bales and sand-bags for the parapets of the bastions, which were very low and the embrasures so wide that they hardly afforded any shelter." Late on the evening of the 18th as many as possible of the ladies, women and children, &c., were got on board the shipping. Two members of Council who were also acting as officers of militia, Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, embarked with the ladies, having "tendered themselves" for this duty; or, as the young civilian's account puts it, "our colonel and lieutenant-colonel of militia preferred entering the list among the number of women rather than defend the Company's and their own property. Accord-

ingly they went off with them, and though several messages were sent them to attend council if they did not choose to fight, still no persuasion could avail." Messrs. Holwell and Cooke give similar testimony on this head. Meantime the enemy contented themselves with throwing a few fire arrows into the Fort; they were very busy plundering, and bringing up the guns that had fallen into their possession.

Two councils of war, which the civilian remarks were much too public and general, were held during the night, when, owing to failure of ammunition amongst other reasons, the Fort was pronounced no longer tenable, and a plan of orderly retreat by the river was proposed by Holwell for the following night, the interval being employed in getting off the Company's records, treasure, &c., &c. No resolution was come to, and nothing was settled save that retreat was inevitable. "In this state of irresolution, attended with great confusion," writes Captain Grant, "did we remain without fixing on any settled scheme till near daylight, then adjourned to wait what the morning might produce in hopes of making our retreat next might."

What "the morning" produced was this:—"June 19, by daybreak the enemy began playing upon the church and factory from two 18-pounders; they fired with wall-pieces and small arms from every hole and corner, and all our efforts to dispossess them of the houses proved ineffectual. Appearing in prodigious swarms all round the factory, they struck a panic in many, expecting every moment the place would be stormed, and as no quarter was given none could be expected." Captain Grant says that the artillery from the Fort during the early morning did "terrible execution" amongst the crowded enemy, but did not at all keep down the attacking fire. Soon occurred the incident which obliges us to look back on some portion of the defence of Calcutta with humiliation.

As this is the first and only instance in the history of British India, in which those bearing the names of Englishmen, and placed in a conspicuous position in a time of war, set an example of cowardice, desertion and inhumanity, it will be better to let an eye-witness or two speak to the facts. The Adjutant-General's account goes more into personal detail than any that I have seen. He certainly is a witness well qualified to testify about a stampede in which he cut a prominent figure:—

"Between 10 and 11 o'clock we were alarmed on the ramparts by a report that the enemy were forcing their way at the barrier that leads

from the Company's house to the wharf, but when I came down I found it to be false. On my return (*sic*) to the back gate, I observed the Governor standing on the stair head of the Ghaut; I came up to him to know if he had any commands, but found him only beckoning to his servant who stood in a ponsay a little above the Ghaut. I saw numbers of boats setting off from different places with Europeans in them. The Governor just took time to mention the bad consequences of the ships dropping down, that it discouraged everybody; seeing the boats set off and not another then at the Ghaut, except a budgerow which Mr. Macket and Captain Minchin were going aboard of, he called to me that he found everyone were providing for their own security, and without giving me time to make answer ran up along shore to the ponsay where his servant was aboard. I first thought he only wanted to speak to his servant to secure the boat, but seeing him step in in somewhat of a hurry I followed, and before I came into the boat desired to know what he was about. On his making answer that he was going on board the ships, I earnestly entreated he would first acquaint the garrison of his design. He represented the impossibility of making a regular retreat on many accounts, and said when they saw him retreat such as could possibly find boats would follow. Looking behind, I perceived Mr. Macket and Captain Minchin setting off, and the stairs full of Europeans pressing to do the same. I considered the retreat to be general, and that everyone who could lay hold of a conveyance would choose to escape falling into the hands of a merciless enemy, and so, with Mr. O'Hara, thought it justifiable to follow the Governor in a state of such apparent confusion and disorder, though greatly grieved to see how many of my friends and countrymen were likely to fall a sacrifice for want of boats, as I believe there was not another at the Ghaut when the Governor came away. We got on board the *Dodalay*, where Messrs. Frankland and Manningham were with most of the women. I then represented to the Governor the cruelty of abandoning so many gentlemen to the mercy of such an enemy, and requested he would order the ships and sloops to move up before the Fort, by which means we should be able to send the boats under their cover to bring off our distressed friends.* But the captain of the ship, representing the danger it would be attended with, and the impossibility of getting the ships back in case they went up again before the Fort, the Governor thought proper not to insist on it." The junior civilian adds this scrap of information: "Upon the Governor going off several muskets were fired at him, but none were lucky enough to take place!"

* Minchin and Grant were subsequently sentenced to be dismissed the service for desertion of their posts. Grant successfully pleaded the circumstances stated above—his urging the return of the Governor's ship—as he was afterwards reinstated. "It does not appear," says Colonel Broome ('History Bengal Army'), "that they were tried by court-martial, but that they received their sentence of dismissal from the Governor and Council, most of whom must have blushed to record their decision."

Drake is said to have behaved with courage up to the moment of his flight, cheerfully taking his part with the lowest in the labour that devolved on all. He must have lost his head and yielded to evil example and the impulse of terror. "What weak heart," as Thackeray finely says, "confident before trial, may not succumb under temptation invincible!" But his subsequent conduct when he had opportunity for reflection admits of no palliation. Indeed, it may be gathered from the civilian's narrative, that the Governor tried to swagger when he was safe down the river and the relieving squadron from Madras was in sight. "We hoisted English colours just without the Dutch bounds at Fulta, when Mr. Drake seemed to wake from his lethargy and affixed an advertisement at every public place, wherein he desired to be accused in writing, and know in what he had been guilty during the late troubles. . . . I took the liberty of answering it, wherein I acquainted the Council Board of the ill consequences attending a junior servant's taxing a member of the Board of ill-conduct without a sanction from the Company for their so doing, and that they must not conclude from no one's doing it at present that they should not whenever the Company thought proper to demand it."

Incredible as it may seem to-day, the civilian deserters do not appear to have been called to account by the Home Government; Manningham, Frankland, and Macket are even promoted in Council in a despatch dated 11th April, 1758. Drake's name does not appear as Governor in any despatch sent out after the news of the taking of Calcutta may have reached England. He was associated, however, under orders from home, as one of a Select Committee with Clive and two others. What a yea-nay-thing he appeared to that man of action may be gathered from his Lordship's evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, viz.: "It was taken into consideration by the Committee whether they should undertake the attack of Chandernagore at the risk of displeasing the Nawab and having his army to encounter, Mr. Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make anything of." "We voted," adds Clive, "Mr. Drake's no opinion at all." Malcolm says, that eventually "it was resolved to dismiss Mr. Drake, upon whose incompetency all appear to have agreed."*

Grose in his "Voyage to the East Indies" is the authority for the very improbable story that Drake pleaded his being a Quaker as a reason for a man of peace hurrying away from a scene of bloodshed, &c. Voltaire got hold of

When matters had come to this lamentable pass, the remnant of the besieged with one accord insisted on that being done which should have been done a week before, namely, that seniority, and all ideas founded on pipe-clay and red-tape, should be disregarded, and that the one man who seemed best adapted for action in the crisis now reached should be given uncontrolled command.

John Cooke, a Bengal civilian, thus gave evidence before the Parliamentary Committee:—

"As soon as it was known the Governor had left the Factory, the gate towards the river was immediately locked to prevent any further desertion, and the general voice of the garrison called for Mr. Holwell to take the charge of their defence upon him. A council being hastily summoned, Mr. Pearkes, the senior then on shore, waived his right to the Government in favour of Mr. Holwell, who thereupon acted in all respects as Commander-in-Chief, and exerted his utmost to encourage everyone.* Signals were now thrown out from every part of the Fort for the ships to come up again to their station, in hopes they would have reflected (after the first impulse of their panic was over) how cruel, as well as shameful, it was to leave their countrymen to the mercy of a barbarous enemy; and for that reason we made no doubt they would have attempted to cover the retreat of those left behind now they had secured their own; but we deceived ourselves, and there never was a single effort made in the two days the Fort held out after their desertion to send a boat or vessel to bring off any part of the garrison. All the 19th the enemy pushed on their attack with great vigour, and having possessed themselves of the church, not thirty or forty yards from the east curtain of the Fort, they galled the garrison in a terrible manner, and killed and wounded a prodigious number. In order to prevent this havoc as much as possible, we got up a quantity of broadcloth in bales with which we made traverses along the curtains and bastions; we fixed up likewise some bales of cotton against the parapets (which

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this excuse, and thus cynically observes on it: "Le Gouverneur de Calcutta nommé Drak etait bien different du fameux amiral Drak. On a dit, on a ecrit qu'il etait de cette religion nazaréene primitive professée par ces respectables Pensylvaniens que nous connaissons sous le nom de *quakers*. Ces primitifs dont la patrie est Philadelphie dans le Nouveau-Monde, et qui doivent faire rougir le notre, ont la même horreur du sang que les brames. Ils regardent la guerre comme un crime. Drak etait un marchant trés habile et un honnête homme : il avait jusque-la caché sa religion ; Il se declara et le conseil le fit embarquer sur le Gange pour le mettre à couvert."

* Clive must have recognised that Holwell was a man fit for command at a critical time. In 1759, when Calcutta was denuded of troops during the hostilities against the Dutch, the militia was called out, consisting mainly of the European inhabitants, for the defence of the fort and settlement, and the command entrusted to Holwell by Clive.

were very thin and of brickwork only) to resist the cannon balls, and did everything in our power to baffle their attempt and hold out, if possible, till the *Prince George* (a Company's ship employed in the country) could drop down low enough to give us an opportunity of getting on board. This ship had, in the commencement of hostilities (on the 16th), been ordered up to Perrin's to assist that redoubt in case the enemy made a second attack; but after they wheeled their army round towards Dumdumma, the party at that post was withdrawn, as no longer necessary, and the *Prince George* directed to fall down to her station, opposite the south-east bastion of the Fort. She was in sight about noon of the 19th, and was now the only glimmering of hope left us to escape falling into the hands of the Moors. Our situation and distress was therefore communicated to the commander of her (Thomas Hague), and he positively directed to bring his ship as near the Fort as he could without loss of time. These instructions were transmitted on board by the hands of Messrs. Pearkes and Lewis, and we began now to entertain some expectation of making a general retreat, notwithstanding what had happened in the morning; but it was otherwise determined by Providence, for, by some strange fatality, the *Prince George* ran aground a little above the Factory (owing to the pilot's misconduct, who lost his presence of mind) and was never after got off.

"The enemy suspended their attack as usual when it grew dark; but the night was not less dreadful on that account. The Company's house, Mr. Cruttenden's, Mr. Nixon's, Doctor Knox's, and the marine yard were now in flames, and exhibited a spectacle of unspeakable terror. We were surrounded on all sides by the Nawab's forces which made a retreat by land impracticable; and we had not even the shadow of a prospect to effect a retreat by water after the *Prince George* run aground.

"On the first appearance of dawn of the 20th June, the besiegers renewed their cannonading—they pushed the siege this morning with much more warmth and vigour than ever they had done," &c., &c.

Holwell's account of the same transactions shows that, desperate as the position of the remaining defenders was, even still there would have been safety for all, and disaster would have been half retrieved, if the panic-stricken deserters had arranged for some of the vessels and boats coming back on the flood tide, and anchoring under the guns of the Fort.

"Your President, with the rest of the ships, vessels, and boats, followed them the 19th about nine in the forenoon; they lay in sight of our Fort and flag flying until the 20th. About eleven in the forenoon they saw the *Prince George*, our last resource, was aground, and could not come down to our succour, and heard us engaged with the enemy during all this period. They knew the desperate state they had left and abandoned us in, without all possibility or means of escape or retreat; and this their own doing. They were sensible we

had not ammunition to defend the Fort two days, or if we had, that our strength, with continued fatigue, watching, and action, was exhausted, and that we were reduced to the wretched alternatives of either sacrificing our lives by resolving to die sword in hand, or surrender ourselves to an enraged and merciless enemy; and yet neither ships, vessels nor boats were sent to favour our retreat, inquire what was our fate, or whether we existed or had perished.

"A single sloop or boat sent up on the night of the 19th might have hailed us from the bastions without risk, even if the place had been in possession of the enemy, the contrary of which they would have been ascertained of, and the fleet might have moved up that night. This motion would have put fresh spirits into us and given dismay to the enemy already not a little disheartened by the numbers slain in the day when dislodged from the houses round us. Had the ships moved up, and our forces reunited and part of the ammunition on board them been disembarked for the service of the Fort, the Suba might at last have been obliged to retreat with his army, or at most, the effects might have been shipped off on the 20th even in the face of the enemy, without their having power to obstruct it, and a general retreat made of the whole garrison, as glorious to ourselves, all circumstances considered, as a victory would have been. The gentlemen would then have found a plan ready formed to the minutest circumstances for a general retreat that would have been attended with no disorder, confusion or difficulty, if proper resolution and command had appeared. Had your President, as was incumbent on him, hoisted his flag on board the *Dodalay*, of which he was likewise part owner, and moved up even on the 20th, not a man or vessel but would have followed him, and he would then have been early enough to have given a new face to things; but in place of that he rendered himself totally inexcusable by not only quitting us himself, but in telling others, and amongst them some of the officers of the militia then on board the *Dodalay*, that the retreat was general, thereby cooling the resolutions and endeavours of those who were returning to us, and had never once entertained a thought of quitting the Fort." Elsewhere, Holwell says:—"Had we been joined in our councils, and the ships continued under the protection of our guns, or been brought back,* and any, the least command exerted, we had it in our power to leave the Suba the bare walls of your Fort only, without a gun in it that would have been of any use to him, or injury to us or the shipping."

All the accounts agree that one excuse for their not coming back was, *because* (matchless argument in the mouths of officers deserting their men, of soldiers and sailors abandoning their comrades) "Captain Young, commander of the *Dodalay*, represented it as a dangerous attempt"!! The civilian's manuscript adds that this vessel would not even give a cable and anchor to aid in the attempt to get off the stranded *Prince George*, supporting the refusal on the ground, that as the bad weather was at hand all the gear would be needed for herself. If it were possible to apportion the scorn which history

The Fort was fiercely defended for about thirty hours after the Governor left it, and this against an enemy flushed with every kind of success, and enabled hour by hour to bring a heavier fire to bear upon every part of it.

By noon of the 20th, of the one hundred and seventy men left after the desertion, twenty-five had been killed, and about twice as many wounded, owing mainly to an attempt of the enemy to carry the northern curtain by escalade, under the support of a heavy musketry fire from a remnant of Mr. Cruttenden's house (present Bonded Warehouse). All were exhausted, and (according to some) many of the lower ranks were under the influence of arrack.

Great pressure had been put on Holwell to make overtures to the enemy for a cessation of hostilities, pending the ascertaining of the pleasure of the Suba. He strongly opposed this as futile; however, to quiet his own people, he caused letters to be thrown over addressed to two of the Suba's generals, explaining that the defence of the Fort was persisted in in preservation of life and honour. By this, too, he hoped to gain time to put in execution a scheme of forcing a retreat that night through the southern barrier by the river side, and of marching to the cover of the ships lying at "Surman's."* This, he says, they meditated, "having no dependence on the clemency of the enemy we had to deal with."

For more than two hours after the repulse of the northern attack, the enemy disappeared, but about 4 p.m. word was brought Holwell that a man was advancing with a flag, and calling out to cease firing, and offering quarter in case of surrender. It was hastily agreed that this should be answered by the showing of a flag of truce, with which Holwell repaired to the S. E. bastion. Soon afterwards "multitudes of the enemy came out of their hiding-places round us, and flocked under the walls." In answer to Holwell, one of the enemy's officers called out that the Suba was there, and his pleasure was that we should strike our colours and surrender. Before Holwell could reply, Mr. Baillie, who was standing by him, was wounded, and an attempt was simultaneously made to force the S. W. barrier and eastern gate. A gun was brought to bear on the latter, and the enemy ordered to with-

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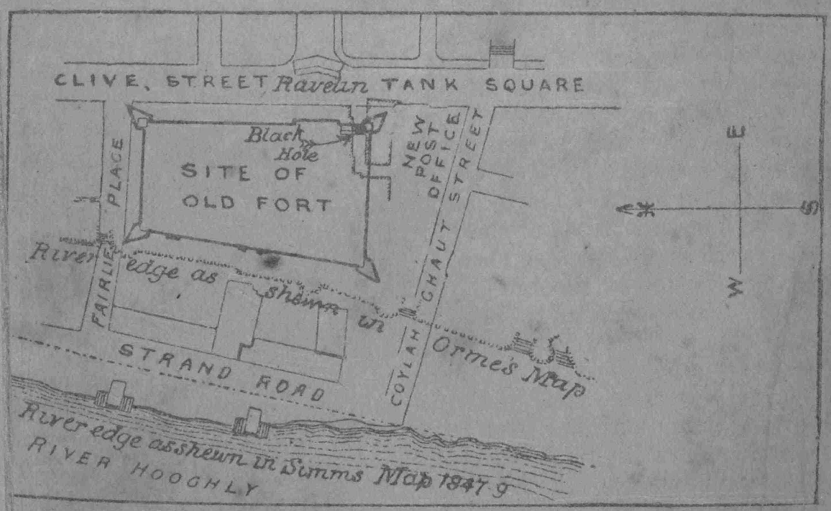
deals out to the chief culprits in this disgraceful flight, and dastardly skulking from duty, full measure pressed down and running over must fall to the lot of the selfish and cowardly sailor who thus belied every tradition of his gallant calling.

* Or, "Surman's Gardens"—about the site of Coolie Bazaar, or more modern "Hastings."

draw, which they did, the flag of truce was taken down, and Holwell "hastened to the parade to issue orders for a general discharge of our cannon and small arms." "The moment I arrived there, Captain Dickson, who now commands the *Lively* (grabb), at present in our service, and just after him Ensign Walcot came running to me and told me the western gate was forced by our own people and betrayed." One account says that some of the defenders tried to escape by that means, as during the brief truce the enemy stormed the S. W. bastion "under cover of a prodigious thick smoke." When Holwell rushed from the parade to the S. E. bastion, where Captain Buchanan was in charge, he found some of the enemy's colours planted even there. "I asked him how he could suffer it; he replied he found further resistance was in vain." The sight that met Holwell's look round convinced him that it was so, as "the Moors," with the aid of bamboos and ladders, were swarming in by the S. W. barriers and by the new go-downs. This was the end. The stormers refrained from bloodshed,* and took to looting instead, depriving the gentlemen of their watches, buckles and any valuables they had about them. To the first native officer whom he saw coming towards him from the S. W. bastion, Holwell delivered his pistols, and was told to instantly order the British colours to be cut down. This he refused to do, saying that, as masters of the Fort, they might order it themselves. His sword was demanded then, but this he declined to give unless in the presence of the Suba. With this object he was conducted round the ramparts till they came opposite to where Siraj ud Dowla was outside. Holwell salaamed to him from the rampart, and then delivered his sword to the Jemadar. The Suba returned the salaam from his litter, and then moved round by the northern curtain and entered the Fort by the small river gate. His younger brother was with him. Holwell "had three interviews with him that evening, one in Durbar." At first he "expressed much resentment at our presumption in defending the Fort against his army with so few men, asked why I did not run away with my Governor, &c., &c., and seemed much disappointed and dissatisfied at the sum found in the treasury; asked me many questions on this subject, and on the conclusion he assured me on the word of a soldier that no harm should come to me, which he repeated more

* This unexpected forbearance should be remembered to the credit of the enemy, to whom "no quarter" had been given, and from whom the defenders acknowledged they could not hope for any.

than once." Even Grant, the Adjutant-General, acknowledges the stubborn defence offered by those who stood by their trust and their colours to the last, and who determined that the captors should have to pay dearly for their prize. To say, as Macaulay does, that "the Fort was taken after a feeble resistance," is to ignore the latter stages of the struggle maintained chiefly by the civilians.* The enemy's list of killed and wounded warrants the belief that the resistance on the whole was the reverse of feeble. Holwell, in his first report of the loss of Calcutta written to the Bombay Government in July from Murshidábád, to which the Nawab and most of his officers had returned, says, "Of the enemy we killed first and last, by their own confession, 5000 of their troops and 80 Jemadars and officers of consequence, exclusive of their wounded."



* Gholam Husein Khan, the cotemporary writer, pays this tribute to Holwell and his fellow-defenders. "Mr. Drake finding that matters went hard with him, abandoned everything, and fled without so much as giving notice to his countrymen. He took shelter on board of a ship, and with a small number of friends and principal persons he disappeared at once. Those that remained, finding themselves abandoned by their chief, concluded their case must be desperate; yet most of them were impressed with such a sense of honour, that, preferring death to life, they fought it out until their powder and ball failing at last, they bravely drank up the bitter cup of death; some others, seized by the claws of destiny, were made prisoners."

CHAPTER II.

THE BLACK HOLE.

2.—The Imprisonment.

The captors were in possession of the Fort about six o'clock in the evening of the 20th of June; at that time of year in Calcutta there is still an hour or so of daylight remaining. For the due understanding of what occurred next, a little explanation as to the arrangement of certain rooms in a portion of the Fort will be necessary.

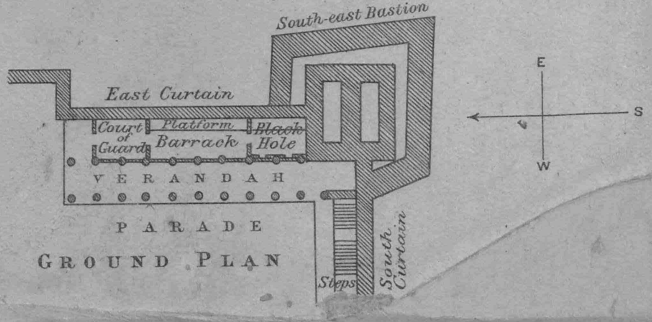
The main entrance to the Fort was through a fortified gate in the eastern curtain wall. At each side of this gate extended a range of chambers adjoining the curtain; in other words, the whole length of space inside of, or backed by, the curtain was divided into sections of the needed dimensions by light cross walls; the roofs of the rooms so obtained was the parapetted terrace above. We are now concerned only with the chambers on the left of the gate, *i.e.*, between the gate and the S. E. bastion. The first room on the left of anyone entering the Fort by the east gate was called "the court of guard;" it was simply the room occupied by the soldiers who were on duty at the main gate. The next room on the left, and led into from the guard room, was a larger one called the barracks. Further still to the left, beyond the barracks, and separated from it by a partition wall, was the last room, adapted for and used as a cell. Along the back of the barracks and of the last room ran a platform, raised from the ground, and wide enough for men to lie on. The chambers were about fifteen feet deep from east to west, where they ended in arches; at their west entrance, running along the ground between the arches, was a low so-called parapet wall. These arched entrances to the chambers opened into a verandah; the latter was probably about twelve feet deep from east to west, where it also ended in arches, which led into the open area and parade ground of the Fort. Anyone looking east from the body of the Fort into the chambers thus described must therefore see them through a double row of arches, between which longitudinally intervened a passage some twelve feet wide, sometimes referred to as a "piazza." The outer and the inner arches were opposite each other. Those who may not be familiar with

OLD FORT WI[illegible], CALCUTTA.

Conjectural View

of the "BLACK HOLE" *and adjacent Chambers,*

as seen from the Parade Ground.



the ordinary Indian verandah, with its arches and columns, will now, perhaps, understand what Holwell wishes to convey when he says the barracks "were open to the west by arches and a small parapet wall, corresponding to the arches of the verandah without." "Before the chamber," writes Orme, "was a verandah or open gallery of arched masonry, and intended to shelter the soldiers from the sun and rain; but being low it almost totally obstructed the chambers behind from the light and air." In fact, the low arched masonry opening (outside) was found probably to be the most economical and durable expedient for keeping out the driving rain, to which during the long south-west monsoon, chambers opening to the west were exposed.

Dark, dismal and stifling, as this accommodation for the well-behaved soldier was, it must have been paradise when compared with that provided for the refractory one, when, maddened to insubordination by arrack, mosquitoes, and heat, he was "run in" to the punishment cell at the further or southernmost end of the barracks. The dimensions of this prison room are roughly given by Orme as "not twenty feet square." Holwell calls it a cube of about eighteen feet; but Cooke particularizes a little more, and says it was about eighteen feet long and fourteen feet wide. It was obtained by cutting off some feet from the length of the barracks by a dividing wall reaching to the roof; in this interposed wall was a door which opened inwards. The custody of any occupant, and intensified heat, gloom, and isolation, were secured by building up the two inner arches of it, which looked on the verandah, leaving in each of these a barred opening called by courtesy a window. It was bounded on the east and south by dead walls (*i.e.*, by the curtain wall and by a portion of the S. E. bastion), on the north by the partition wall and door, and on the west by the bricked-up arches, the windows in which, strongly barred with iron, afforded the only inlets for light and air from the dark verandah. No wonder that in barrack parlance this chamber, a vile and stupid importation of western barbarity, went by the name, which through an awful calamity has become historic—the Black Hole.

The number of people who became prisoners, on the Fort falling into the enemy's hands, was one hundred and forty-six; they were of all sorts and conditions, black, brown, and white. Most accounts agree that there was only one woman amongst them. Many of this shattered remnant were wounded; all were in a state of extreme exhaustion. When it was dark they were directed to collect, all without distinction, under the arched verandah described, and to sit

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down quietly in one body. This they did, their backs being turned to the barracks and its prison, and their faces looking out west towards the parade ground of the Fort, where "were drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted torches." Besides the guard immediately over them, "another was placed at the foot of the stairs at the south end of the verandah leading up to the S. E. bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way." At this time the factory buildings were on fire to the right and left of the collected prisoners, and as the flames advanced towards them they apprehended that their death by suffocation and fire was designed. This fear was strengthened by their seeing, about half-past seven, some officers with torches going into the chambers at their right and at their backs, as though they intended to set those on fire also. A hasty determination was come to "of rushing on their guards, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops on the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted alive." Before attempting this, Holwell went back to the torch-bearers, and found that they were merely looking for a place to secure the prisoners in for the night, "the last apartment they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us."

What occurred immediately after this had better be given in Holwell's own words:—

"We observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartment in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet wall, and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black Hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black Hole prison, there was no resisting it, but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter; the rest followed like a torrent, few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice cut to pieces."

The following incident occurred just before they were locked up.

"Here I must detain you a little to do honour to the memory of a

man to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who on this occasion demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the Fort, and returned just as it was dark to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able, but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shown to me; and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time, to which he gallantly replied that then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me." *

Holwell, having been amongst the first thrust into the prison, gained one of the windows (that nearest to the door), into which he took two of the youngest wounded officers, who soon died either from suffocation, or under the awful pressure occasioned by all trying to get near the opening. It was now about eight o'clock.

The night was the hottest and sultriest of the whole year, that immediately before the first fall of the monsoon rains; these did not begin till the night of the 21st, when it rained in torrents. When the heat and smoke proceeding from the buildings on fire all around are taken into account besides, no estimate coming up to reality can be formed of what the stifling temperature must have been.

It would serve no useful end to recall in any detail the sufferings of the victims in the Black Hole. Those curious about such matters can find in Holwell's narrative a minute account of the ten hours' incarceration:—"Nothing in history or fiction approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night."

What Holwell's experience was may be summarised thus: On realizing the trap they were in, he still acted as their chief, and besought them to try and keep calm, as the only chance of escape from death. At first they listened to his entreaty, and nothing was heard save the cries and groans wrung from the many wounded. He next promised money to an old Jemadar of the

* This noble fellow's gratitude and fidelity cost him his life; he died in the Black Hole.

guard to try and get the door opened or the prisoners divided; this could not be done. In a few minutes all were streaming with perspiration, giving rise to intolerable thirst. Many expedients were proposed as a possible means of getting more room, or some movement of air. All, save Holwell and two or three next him, got out of their clothes. An attempt was made to sit and rise alternately at word of command, but this proved fatal to the weaker captives who, so tightly were they wedged, had not strength to struggle to their feet again, and were trampled to death by their stronger neighbours. From time to time fruitless efforts were made to force the door. In about an hour all except those at the windows were becoming outrageous from thirst, and cried for water. The old native officer, through mistaken pity, had some brought in skins. Then came the wild raving and the agony of struggle; all control was lost. Holwell and the two wounded lads took in the water as fast as they could, in hats squeezed through the bars, but the little that reached the lips of those clutching at it merely intensified their terrible thirst. More agonizing to Holwell even than his own thirst, was the feeling that he could not reach those at the back of the prison, who implored him with parched throats for one drop, "calling on me by the tender consideration of friendship and affection, and who knew they were really dear to me." So eagerly was the water raged for, that those who had posts of vantage at the other window, left them and the life-saving air, to fight to that at which it was; not till later was it brought to the further window also. This awful scene went on for two hours, to the devilish enjoyment of the guards without, who kept the supply of water going, and held up lanterns to the bars to enable them to see the frenzied struggles for it in the crowd within. Entreaty and abuse were alternately resorted to, for inducing or provoking the guards to shoot their tortured victims, who now longed for any death which would close their sufferings. By about half-past eleven the greater number of those still living, the occupants of the windows excepted, were delirious. It was at length realized by all that the insufficient water merely added fuel to the fire, and shrieks were raised for "air, air." To get to this as a last effort several who were behind leaped and scrambled on the backs and heads of those in the front rows, and grasping the bars so held their position while life or strength lasted. By degrees, as death mercifully released the greater number, the air admitted sufficed to keep alive those whose endurance, or place near the openings, was favourable for survival. Only twenty-three (not one-

sixth of the whole) were taken out alive when the door was opened at dawn on the 21st of June. Holwell's personal remembrance of the night ceased at 2 a.m., as he then (for the second time) gave up the struggle of life, and sunk into what he believed and hoped was the shadow of death. Wonderfully touching it is, to read of the obedience and affection which this man inspired, and which the sufferers preserved for him in that den of horrors, while reason lasted, or until all distinctions were lost in the common agony. A few brief extracts may fittingly exemplify this, as well as the nobility which our poor countrymen manifested in the hour of extreme trial.

When the struggle for water at the window had been going on long, and Holwell's immediate companions were dead at his feet, he thought it useless to prolong his pain and misery while being slowly and surely pressed to death.

"Determined now to give up everything, I called to them and begged, as the last instance of their regard, they would remove the pressure upon me and permit me to retire out of the window to die in quiet. They gave way, and with much difficulty I forced a passage into the centre where the throng was less by the many dead. I travelled over the dead to the further end of the platform. Death I expected as unavoidable, and only lamented its slow approach, though the moment I quitted the window my breathing grew short and painful. Here my poor friend, Mr. Edward Eyre (Member of Council), came staggering over the dead to me, and, with his usual coolness and good nature, asked me how I did; but fell and expired before I had time to make him a reply."

Soon, however, the deprivation of air caused torturing pains in the chest, and the instinct to seek it was so overpowering, that in a very few minutes he was pushing his way to the opposite (further) window, and, by "an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed," gained the second rank and grasped a bar.

"In a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing ceased, but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for water for God's sake. I had been concluded dead, but as soon as they heard me amongst them, they had still the respect and tenderness for me to cry out, 'give him water, give him water;' nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drunk."

A vivid idea of what the throng and pressure were, even when the floor was strewn with dead, will be got from his statement that while at his second post he was thus burdened, viz., a heavy man

was on his back and head, a Dutch sergeant on his left shoulder, and a Topaz (native soldier) bearing on his right. He could only have supported these from being himself propped and sustained by pressure all round.

"In the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships whose name was Carey, who had behaved with much bravery during the siege (his wife, a fine woman, though country born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived). This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my station. On my quitting he made a fruitless attempt to get my place, but the Dutch sergeant who sat on my shoulder supplanted him. Poor Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said he would give up life, too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing). He laid himself down to die, and his death, I believe, was very sudden, for he was a short, full, sanguine man. His strength was great, and I imagine had he not retired with me I should never have been able to have forced my way. I found a stupor coming on apace and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the Revd. Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison."

. . . . . .

"When the day broke and the gentlemen found that no entreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make search for me in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from the scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and, by my shirt, discovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence and, imagining I had some signs of life, brought me towards the window I had first possession of; but as life was equally dear to every man, and the stench arising from the dead bodies was grown intolerable, no one would give up his station in or near the window. So they were obliged to carry me back again. But soon after, Captain Mills (now captain of the Company's yacht), who was in possession of a seat in the window, had the humanity to offer to resign it. I was again brought by the same gentlemen, and placed in the window."

One of those who searched for him had good reason to remember the garment, the identification of which saved the life of its wearer. Holwell, it has been said already, was one of the very few who did not strip. He went into the cell without coat or waistcoat (a covetous "Moor" had relieved him of the latter while sitting in the verandah), but he retained the rest of his clothing.

"Whilst I was at the second window, I was observed by one of my miserable companions on the right of me in the expedient of allaying my thirst by sucking my shirt-sleeve. He took the hint, and robbed me from time to time of a considerable part of my store; though, after I detected him, I had ever the address to begin on that sleeve first, when I thought my reservoirs were sufficiently replenished, and our mouths and noses often met in the contest. This plunderer, I found afterwards, was a worthy young gentleman in the service, Mr. Lushington, one of the few who escaped from death, and since paid me the compliment of assuring me he believed he owed his life to the many comfortable draughts he had from my sleeve."

The "young gentleman" referred to here was Henry Lushington, who was then but eighteen years of age. How eventful his short life was! He eluded death at Calcutta merely to meet it at "a massacre surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole," for only seven years later he was among the first of Sumroo's slaughtered victims at Patna.* His knowledge of Persian got him attached to Clive as interpreter and secretary; after the battle of Plassey he played a subordinate part in an incident destined to become historical—the forging of Admiral Watson's name to the fictitious treaty devised for the deception of that badly treated man, Omichund. By Clive's order it was Lushington's hand that signed the name which the Admiral himself declined to write. A monument and bust were erected to young Lushington's memory in Eastbourne church by his father, the vicar of the parish. In the lengthy inscription on the monument it was told how bravely he confronted his murderers. "While the sepoys were performing their savage office on Mr. Ellis, fired with a generous indignation at the distress of his friend, he (Lushington) dashed upon his assassins unarmed, and, seizing one of their scymitars, killed three of them and wounded two others, until at length oppressed by numbers he greatly fell," &c. His parents were afterwards buried in the same church by their own desire.

"In humble hope that they by *his* renown,
To distant ages will be handed down."

When Holwell was taken to the window he slowly revived, and just then, he says, "the Suba, who had received an account of the havoc death had made, sent to enquire if the chief survived"; on the Suba

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All the mournfully interesting facts that could be collected about the Patna massacre (1763) were brought together by Mr. Beveridge in the *Calcutta Review*, October, 1884 and 1886—two articles well worth reading.

being informed that he was alive, "an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six o'clock." This and another passage in Holwell's narrative would go to show that the young Nawab spent the night at the Fort, but the early hour at which he proceeded to business does not bear out Macaulay's amplification that he "slept off his debauch." It is strange that Mr. Secretary Cooke says distinctly, "between six and seven (*i.e.*, p.m.) Siraj ud Dowla left the Fort, the charge whereof was given to Manick Chund as governor."

However this may be, it is, I think, beyond dispute that the Nawab had nothing to do with the measures adopted for securing those who fell into his power. He very probably gave orders that they should be confined for the night; this order was delegated, as usual in the East, to several gradations of ignorant subordinates. When it came to be ascertained that such a thing as a military prison existed in the Fort, the question as to the best place of confinement must have appeared solved; the guard were careless as to the dimensions—indeed, they probably were as ignorant of what these really were, as the throng were whom they were driving in. Callous brutality and fear of responsibility on the part of the bándits who had charge over the prison for the night must account for the door not being opened again, when the insufficiency of space was so horribly demonstrated. But where the Nawab deserves execration is, that he showed no concern whatever on learning the next morning the terrible sufferings of his prisoners during the previous night. His narrow mind was occupied in appraising the plunder that had fallen into his clutches, and giving vent to his vexation and disappointment at its being so much below the exaggerated amount that his greedy imagination had expected. He sent for Holwell, who was lying exhausted on the grass outside the verandah, and when supported to his presence unable to speak, he directed some one to give him water and to place "a large folio volume" for him to sit on, and then questioned him about money. Next, according to the civilian's manuscript, "he issued orders for every European *

* Four of the survivors were handed over to Meer Muddun, one of the generals, under the conviction that there was buried treasure, whose discovery might be extorted from them. These were Messrs. Holwell, Court, Burdett, and Ensign Walcot. Meer Muddun sent them to Murshidábád. This journey lasted over a fortnight; the prisoners were conveyed in a leaky boat, with no shelter over them by day or night They lay on bamboos, and were often half immersed in water. Their food was rice and the water alongside. Their bodies were covered with large painful boils, as was the case with all those who survived the Black Hole; in this condition they were heavily ironed. Hol-

to quit the place before sunset under the penalty of cutting off their nose and ears," and "orders were given out by beat of tom-tom that the town should not any longer be called Calcutta, but Allinagore." Most of the survivors made their way to the ships. The greatest kindness was shown by the Dutch at Chinsura and Fulta to all the British refugees down the river. Stores and comforts of all kinds were liberally sent to them by Adrian Bisdam, the Dutch Governor. Nevertheless, disease ran riot amongst them, and so pitiable was the condition they were reduced to before the cool dry season came, that many must have wished they had died on their walls at Calcutta.

The fact of a woman surviving the Black Hole is a most extraordinary one; her husband, poor Carey, probably exerted his strength as long as he could in helping her to withstand the pressure and struggling near the window where she must have been, and it may perhaps be to this that her escape was mainly due.

I am much indebted to Mrs. Henry Beveridge, at present in

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well, though in extreme pain himself, was obliged to tend and feed his still more helpless companions. On arrival at Murshidábád, they were led in chains through the crowded city. On their way up, and afterwards, they received every mark of active sympathy and kindness that they were allowed to avail themselves of, from the gentlemen of the Dutch and French factories. It is only fair to say that of the extreme brutality of the treatment suffered by those four gentlemen on their agonising journey to his capital, the Nawab knew nothing till afterwards; and when he himself reached Hughli, where he released Watts and Collett, on his return from Calcutta, he enquired for Holwell and his fellow prisoners, and expressed anger at their having been sent to Murshidábád. Soon after his arrival there, when the prisoners managed to attract his notice as he passed by in his palankin, he seems to have but just recalled their existence, and he at once ordered them their liberty, directing at the same time that, when their irons were cut off, they were to be conducted wherever they chose to go, and that care was to be taken that they suffered no trouble or insult. And even when pressure had been put on him by his courtiers to detain Holwell, and hand him over to Manick Chand to be "squeezed" on the plea that he *must* be able to procure money, the young Nawab replied, "It may be; if he has anything left, let him keep it; his sufferings have been great; he shall have his liberty." Siraj ud Dowla was brought up in a bad school for the development of generosity, or any other laudable quality. The over-indulged favourite of the old Nawab never probably had a wish thwarted, or never had a mentor who would venture to tell him the difference between right and wrong. His short life is said to have been fruitful in vice and crime. Very probably it was. But writers (amongst recent ones let me notably except Colonel Malleson) have dwelt on these, and have kept out of sight the few good acts which might fairly be shown, not in exculpation, but in mitigation of damages. So true is it that "men's evil manners live in brass; their virtues we write in water."

Calcutta, for letting me see the book to which she refers in the following letter written by her some few years ago to the *Calcutta Englishman*, which was copied into some London papers, and transcribed thence by me into the first edition of this book as a record of historical interest, though I had not then the pleasure of knowing whom the writer's initials stood for. The gentleman who chronicles his visit to Mrs. Carey was, I think, an attorney in the Supreme Court, as one of that name was practising in Calcutta from 1780, and died there early in this century.

"I am able to quote the following interesting notes from a flyleaf at the end of our copy of Holwell's 'Tracts.' They are presumably in the handwriting of the former owners of the book:—

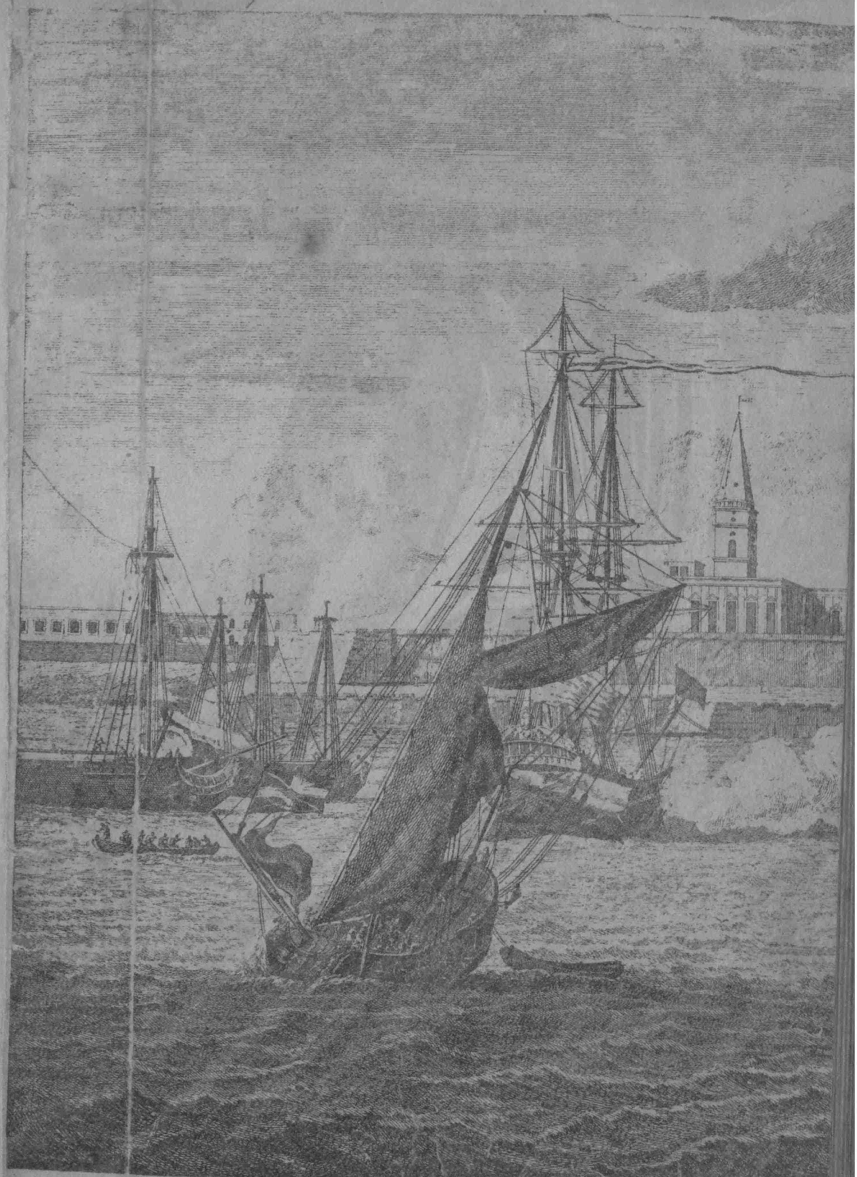
"Note 1.—August 13th, 1799.—This forenoon, between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock, visited by appointment, in company with Mr. Charles Child, at her house in Calcutta, situate in an angle at the head of the Portuguese Church Street, and east of the church, Mrs. Carey, the last survivor of those unfortunate persons who were imprisoned in the Black Hole at Calcutta, on the capture of that place in 1756 by Suraj ud Dowla. This lady, now fifty-eight (58) years of age, as she herself told me, is of a size rather above the common stature, and very well proportioned; of a fair Mesticia colour, with correct regular features, which give evident marks of beauty which must once have attracted admiration. She confirmed all which Mr. Holwell has said on the subject of the Black Hole in the foregoing letter, and added that, besides her husband, her mother, Mrs. Elleanor Weston (her name by second marriage), and her sister, aged about ten years, had also perished therein, and that other women, the wives of soldiers, and children, had shared a like fate there.

(Signed) THOMAS BOILEAU.

"Note 2.—Mrs. Carey died Saturday, March 28, 1801.

"Note 3.—(Written by another hand.)—Mrs. Carey was made the subject of some very pleasing Latin verses by Dr. Bishop, Head Master of Merchant Taylor's (where Clive was educated). See 'Neniœ Poeticæ' (p. 230), A.D. 1766:

'Quum jussu Eoi, Calcotticâ in arce, tyranni
Captiva heu! subiit tristia fata manus,
Et passim furibunda siti, moribunda calore,
Corpora robustis succubuere viris,
Fœmina languori, horrorique superfuit, omnes,
Tam varie miseras fœmina passa vices.



Painted & Delineated by { Lambert & Scot.

Fort Will

Thacke

Scilicet ante pedes, spirantem extrema maritum,
Viderat illa, pari membra datura neci;
Nec mora; prosiliunt oculis quasi fontibus undæ.
Et subita humectant ora gementis aquâ;
Hinc vita, unde dolor; nescit sitiendo perire,
Cui sic dat lacrymas quas bibat ipsa fides.'

(See H. B. Wilson's 'History of Merchant Taylor's School,' p. 1098)."

The above may be thus translated:—"When, by the command of an Eastern tyrant, a captive band suffered, alas! a cruel fate in the Fort of Calcutta, and on all sides strong men fell, maddened by thirst and dying with heat, a woman outlived the weakness and the horror, a woman endured all the turns of such varied misery. She saw her husband breathe his last at her feet, and was about to yield herself to a like death, when lo! the waters leap from her eyes as from springs, and bedew her lips with sudden moisture. Grief gives her life. She cannot die of thirst, to whom fidelity itself thus gives tears for drink."—A. S. B.

If this survivor's statement is given correctly by her interviewer, there can be no doubt that others of her own sex were amongst those shut up. Mrs. Carey could not have been mistaken as to her mother and sister. Holwell certainly does not say in so many words that only one woman went into the prison, but his phrase, "one hundred and forty-six wretches exhausted by continual fatigue and action," seems to allude to men only. Cooke *does* say that there was only one woman; still, the probability seems to me to be in favour of the evidence attributed to Mrs. Carey. The retreat by the boats was such a hurried and disorganized one, that it is very unlikely that every woman and child but one was got off. Holwell and Cooke might easily have been mistaken considering that the thrusting into the prison occurred in the dark, and that in the morning they were very unfit for any observation, even were time or opportunity for it afforded, which was not the case, as the dead were immediately thrown promiscuously into the ditch of the unfinished ravelin and covered with earth.

It is suggestive of uncertainty as to the number that went into the Black Hole, that Holwell, in his letter to the Bombay Government from Murshidábád on the day after his being set at liberty (July 17), gives it at "about one hundred and sixty-five or one hundred and seventy," and says that "about sixteen" came out. So that it is evident that the numbers accepted by historians were

only adopted by Holwell for his narrative, after he had had an opportunity of comparing notes with other survivors.

The relegation to a harem, which tradition assigns as the fate of Mrs. Carey, rests on no substantial basis. Holwell says vaguely, "the rest who survived the fatal night gained their liberty, except Mrs. Carey, who was too young and handsome." No poor creature emerging from the ordeal that she did could then look either young or handsome, and the probabilities would be that she tottered on along with the rest towards Cooly Bazar, where the ships were still in sight. Orme (who accepts the belief of her being the only woman) consigns her to Meer Jaffir; while Macaulay gives her to the Prince at Murshidábád (Siraj ud Dowla), a discrepancy suggestive of the untrustworthy evidence on which the story is founded, at all events in its ordinarily accepted significance.

Within the last three or four years I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance in India of a near connection by marriage of a direct lineal descendant of Mrs. Carey, who was in a position to give much interesting information about her, as he had often intimately conversed with one who had been brought up by her. My informant, a European gentleman of the highest respectability and intelligence, gave me to understand that the few direct descendants of Mrs. Carey now in India, would be unwilling, as many retiring people are, to have any reference made to them by name in print, so that in deference to this feeling I am not able to mention a good deal of what the gentleman I allude to told me in conversations which I had with him. I may, however, authoritatively say this much: Mrs. Carey was not carried off by "the Moors"* at all. On the contrary, she remained in or near Calcutta, and before very long married again, her second husband being a military officer of field rank. By this marriage she had two sons and, I believe, one daughter. During her later life she reverted to the name of her first husband. She was buried in the Moorgehatta (Catholic Cathedral) churchyard, Calcutta; the site of the grave was afterwards, I think, absorbed by some enlargement of a portion of the church. There is in existence still a well-executed miniature of her painted on the inside of the lid of a trinket box; it certainly testifies to the truth of what Holwell records about her personal appearance, for the artist has shown her in her comely youth.

* The Mahommedan historian relates a circumstance about which, however, all other cotemporaries are silent, viz., that soon after Drake's flight some women of the English fell into the hands of Mirza-Emir-Beg, an officer attached to

Holwell's list of the survivors of the Black Hole* gives the names of eleven Europeans (including Mrs. Carey and young Lushington). Of these I have been unable to trace anything of John Meadows, or of Captain Dickson of the *Lively*. Nor of Secretary Cooke, beyond that he became member of Council and afterwards in England gave evidence before the Parliamentary Committee of 1772; his name, strange to say, is not mentioned in the despatch from the Directors, November, 1757, in which two years' service are allowed to his fellow civilians, Lushington and Burdett, "for their sufferings and good behaviour." Richard Court, who held the rank of senior merchant in the service, was nominated to Council for "behaving very well," but he can scarcely have enjoyed this promotion, as he died in 1758. His house was bought by Government in that year, "for the holding of Council." Patrick Moran got a commission and, according to Broome, rose to the rank of captain; the same authority says that Ensign Walcot died soon after he and his companions were released at Murshidábád. But length of days was given to (at least) three of those who came out of this great tribulation. John Mills, the humane sailor who gave up his seat at the window to Holwell, proved himself, when on leave in England a few years later, to be of the same kindly unselfish nature, for he married a widow who loved him for the dangers he had passed. The lady who became Mrs. Mills, and returned with him to India, was a celebrity on the English stage, much admired both as Miss Birchill and as Mrs. Vincent, for her melodious voice and amiable, simple disposition. She was the Polly Peachum in the Beggar's Opera, thus praised by Churchill in the "Rosciad" (edn. 1765).

> "Lo! Vincent comes, with simple grace array'd;
> She laughs at paltry arts and scorns parade;
> Nature through her is by reflection shown,
> Whilst Gay once more owns Polly for his own."

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one of the Nawab's generals. This man, he alleges, behaved most chivalrously, giving them decent shelter, and conducting them secretly the same night by boat to Drake's vessel, on board which he put them, refusing all reward. "Such," adds the historian, "ought to be the actions of a gentleman. As to those men who style themselves Mussulmans, and have laid their hands upon the properties and honour of other people, their actions are no better than so many suggestions of the demon of concupiscence, and so many illusions of the devil, their prototype and master." (Siyar-ul-Mutakherin—Mons. Raymond's translation.)

* See Appendix A.

Mrs. Mills died in June, 1802, at Hampstead, London,* aged 67. Her husband long outlived her, retaining his mental faculties well preserved till shortly before his death. His pecuniary resources must have fallen short in advanced life, as the East India Company then generously assisted him with an annuity, on some friends of his making, without his knowledge, a representation in his favour to his old employers. He died at Camden Town, London, in September, 1811, aged 89. But though Captain Mills survived the Black Hole for over fifty years, he was not the last survivor. *The Gentleman's Magazine* in noticing his death, says that his fellow prisoner Burdett, "late of Ealing, now a resident at (Lotton, near) Southampton, is still in existence." For how long further this patriarch continued to defy the Old Man with the hour-glass and the sickle, my searchings have failed to discover. John Burdett, a young gentleman volunteer, as Holwell calls him in one report, had seen the British driven to their ships in Bengal, and as a captive of its Nawab had been led in fetters through its capital; yet he lived into the Regency of Queen Victoria's uncle. What a creation of yesterday does our Indian Empire seem, when we reflect that there are many persons still alive in England, who must have seen, or conversed with, survivors of the terrible Black Hole.

Holwell, too, lived to a fine old age in England, where he died in 1798, aged 87. I cannot, however, take leave of this remarkable man with a bare record of his death. Though this sketch already far exceeds its proposed limit, still I must not grudge something in conclusion regarding the career and the memory of one to whom Indian history owes so much.

John Zephaniah Holwell† was the son of a London merchant and the grandson of John Holwell, well known as a learned mathe-

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* I happened to come across her epitaph quite lately in a collection (Cansick's) of those rescued from old St. Pancras Churchyard. It begins:

"And art thou then in awful silence here,
Whose voice so oft has charmed the public ear,
Who with thy simple notes could strike the heart
Beyond the utmost skill of laboured art," &c., &c.

† I have laid under contribution for this notice some letters which Major W. A. Holwell was kind enough to write to me, giving items relating to his great-grandfather's domestic history. To this gentleman there descended many family papers and relics of great historical interest. Some of these were, he tells me, destroyed, to his never ceasing regret, by a great fire in Quebec in 1881; on a date, too, of ominous significance in his family history, viz., 20th of June.

Sir J. Reynolds.

J. Z. HOLWELL.

Thacker, Spink, & Co., Calcutta.

matician and astronomer, who wrote towards the close of the 17th Century, who was Royal astronomer and surveyor of Crown lands, and mathematical preceptor to the Duke of Monmouth, and who was deputed to lay down a plan of New York. The father and grandfather of this gentleman gave their lives in support of the Stuart cause, which involved the loss to their descendants of an ample patrimony in Devonshire which had been in the family for generations. J. Z. Holwell was born in Dublin, and baptised at St. Werburgh's Parish Church; the certificate, in which he is described as the son of Zephaniah and Sarah Holwell, is dated 23rd September, 1711. The officiating clergyman was the Rev. Edward Synge.* At an early age he was sent to a school at Richmond (in Surrey), where he greatly distinguished himself in classics. His father having determined to bring him up to mercantile pursuits, he was removed to an academy in Holland, where he acquired a knowledge of French and Dutch, and of book-keeping. He was next settled as a clerk in the counting-house of a banker and "husband of ships" at Rotterdam, a friend of his father's, who agreed to take him into partnership after a stipulated time. After some time here, his health broke down under hard work, and he went for a trip to Ireland, and he returned from that country with a fixed aversion to the life of a merchant. The profession of medicine was next adopted for him by his father, who had him articled to a surgeon in Southwark, on whose death he was placed under the care and instruction of Mr. Andrew Cooper, the senior surgeon of Guy's Hospital. On his quitting the hospital, he was engaged as surgeon's mate on board an Indiaman, which arrived in Calcutta in 1732. From Bengal he made two or three voyages in the Company's ships as surgeon. While so engaged, he studied Arabic, which after a prolonged stay at Mocha and Jeddah he spoke fluently. After he had received an appointment on shore, he went twice in medical charge of "the Patna party," about four hundred fighting men, which annually left Calcutta with the Company's trade for the Patna Factory. On these occasions he bore a rank which seems

* In one old notice of Holwell that I have seen, this clergyman is alluded to as "the celebrated Mr. Synge." What he was celebrated for in particular I am not able to say, unless it was for being in advance of his times and his cloth and for devising liberal things In reading lately Mr. Lecky's "Leaders of public opinion in Ireland," I found this mention of him: "In 1725, when the penal laws were at their height, a Protestant clergyman named Singe in a very remarkable sermon, preached before the Irish House of Commons and published by its order, urged the duty of granting perfect toleration to the Catholics."—*O si sic omnes*

to have been revived of late years, viz., that of "surgeon-major." After having served for a short time as surgeon to the Factory at Dakha, he returned to Calcutta at the end of 1736, where he was elected an alderman in the Mayor's Court. In or about 1740 he was appointed assistant surgeon to the Hospital, and having been brought on the fixed medical establishment under orders from home,* he soon became principal surgeon to the Presidency. He tells us himself that for two years successively he was elected mayor.

In 1748 ill-health obliged him to return to England; during the voyage he drew up a plan he had formed for correcting abuses in the Zemindar's Court at Calcutta, and proposed it to the Court of Directors, who, adopting it, appointed him perpetual zemindar (a post carrying with it fiscal and magisterial duties) and twelfth in Council.

On his arrival in Calcutta as a covenanted civilian in 1751, he began his system of reform, which eventually gave such satisfaction at home, that his annual salary was raised from two to six thousand rupees; and a prohibition against his rising in Council, which was at first stipulated, was removed. By the time that the war broke out he had risen to the position of seventh in Council. On his release from Murshidábád he made his way to the ships at Fulta.

Being shattered in health, he was sent home with despatches in February, 1757,† in the *Syren*, a sloop of only eighty tons, and had a perilous, but rather quick, voyage of five months, during which he wrote his narrative of the Black Hole. In consideration of his distinguished and meritorious services, he was nominated by a large majority in the Court of Directors to return to Bengal as successor to Clive, but this he seems to have modestly declined in favour of Mr. Manningham; he was then named second in Council. But a fresh election of Directors having occurred before he started, the above arrangements were reversed by a majority of the new-

* "In obedience to your commands of March, 1742, we appointed Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell one of your surgeons in this establishment in the room of Dr W. Lindsay, who departed this life of a fever."—(Extract from Bengal despatch to Court of Directors.)

† The news of the loss of Calcutta is published in the *London Chronicle*, in the copy from June 7 to 9, 1757, in an "extract from a letter received by the India ships arrived in Ireland." The Court of Directors knew it on June 4, *i.e.*, nearly twelve months after it occurred. On July 22 in the same year they learned from Holwell of the recovery of Calcutta. This was announced in the London papers of July 30. Neither the loss nor the recovery received any comment in the *London Chronicle*.

comers, who were not friendly to him, and he was relegated to his old position of seventh in Council. However, on his arrival in Calcutta, he found himself fourth, owing to the departure of seniors; and in 1759 he became second. By virtue of this position he succeeded Clive as temporary Governor on the latter's proceeding to Europe in February, 1760. He held the governorship but for a few months.

The Court of Directors of those days was broken up into factions. Holwell did not pull well with them, nor did Clive, and acrimonious letters passed between the Bengal and Home Governments. In a well-known despatch* from Fort William, December, 1759, the Governor (Clive) and Council wrote,—

"Permit us to say that the diction of your letter is most unworthy (of) yourselves and us, in whatever relation considered, either as master to servants or gentlemen to gentlemen. Mere inadvertences and casual neglects have been treated in such language and sentiments, as nothing but the most glaring and premeditated frauds could warrant. . . . Faithful to little purpose if the breath of scandal has power to blow away in one hour the merits of many years' service."

The answer to this, written a year afterwards, was,—

"We do positively order and direct that immediately upon the receipt of this letter, all those persons still remaining in the Company's service who signed the said letter of the 29th December, viz., Messrs. J. Z. Holwell, &c. &c., be dismissed from the Company's service; and you are to take care that they be not permitted on any consideration to continue in India, but that they are to be sent to England by the first ships that return home the same season you receive this letter."

This was what the oft-expressed commendation and gratitude all came to. One is glad to think, however, that long before this despatch reached India,—indeed, before it was penned,—Holwell had the self-respect to write to Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, for permission to resign the service, pointing out that—

"The many unmerited, and consequently unjust, marks of resentment which I have lately received from the present Court of Directors,

* The original draft of this despatch in Holwell's handwriting is still in the possession of his great-grandson. Manningham, Frankland, and Mackett were amongst the members of Council whose names appear signed to it in the Blue-book. These gentlemen had little claim on the forbearance of the Company. John Cooke also signed it, so did Richard Becher and C. S. Playdell, with others. It is probable that the Court's orders of dismissal were evaded in some instances.

see what "respect and tenderness," to use his own simple words, succeeding generations of Englishmen in Calcutta have shown for his memory.

Holwell erected at his own expense a monument * to the memory of those who died in the Black Hole; he had it placed over their rude grave, and had inscribed on a stone tablet on its front, the names of forty-eight of our countrymen, an act so natural, so kindly, and so deserving of all sympathy, that one would have thought that every Englishman in Calcutta would have regarded the monument's preservation as a personal trust. Yet it was allowed to go to ruin, and its demolition was so effectually completed, that no knowledge survives of what became even of its inscription marble. The generation sojourning in Calcutta in 1821 substituted no memorial for that which was suffered to disappear in their time. Since then, for 66 years, Calcutta has been allowed to be without any commemorative structure, or sculptured tablet of any kind sacred to those few "faithful found among the faithless," whose memory their fellow-sufferer, who best knew their deservings, wished and tried to honour. This is all the more strange when it is borne in mind that for more than half this long period, the province of Bengal, including the metropolis of India, has been under the continuous rule of successive members of the Covenanted Civil Service of India, the order to which Holwell himself belonged, and in behalf of which he spoke up to the Court of Directors in these words: "From the militia, about 65, chiefly Europeans, entered as volunteers in the battalion (*most of them your own covenanted servants*) in whose just praise I can hardly say enough. They sustained every hardship of duty greatly beyond the military themselves; and though their bravery may have been equalled, I am sure it has not been exceeded by any set of men whatsoever."

Several of those over whose remains Holwell's Monument stood, were Bengal civilians, from members of Council down to junior writers. The youngest of them all was Robert Byng, and it is a coincidence worth recalling that in the very month of June, 1756, in which an order went from England to Gibraltar, to arrest and send home Admiral John Byng to his trial and execution at Portsmouth, his young nephew gave up his life in defending Calcutta. Every section of an Anglo-Indian community as it exists to-day was represented amongst the gallant few whose names Holwell wrote on his monument, in memory of that Sunday night in June,

* See supplement for some details relating to this and to its site.

just 131 years ago; nor did he omit to enumerate the lowlier victims, though he could not name them. There was the clergyman, the civilian, the merchant, the sailor and the soldier. To the reproach of Calcutta, their neglected dust has for so long been silently crying out (*dum tacet, clamat*) against the carelessness and thoughtless indifference which have consigned it to oblivion and disrespect. "Doubtless," as the Indian historian says, when advocating the claims of other neglected men, "doubtless, they are the representatives of a gigantic disaster, not of a glorious victory. But the heroism of failure is often greater than the heroism of success."

SUPPLEMENT.

Note in reference to the Sites of the Black Hole and of Holwell's Monument.

In the former edition of this book the question, "Where was the Black Hole"? was considered. Discussion on this point would now be out of date, owing to later information bearing on it having since come to light. But it may be of interest to those readers not residing in Calcutta to be told something relating to the site of it, and to its identification. A little, too, remains to be added concerning the old monument so historically connected with the Black Hole tragedy.

The old Fort of Calcutta was nearly all taken down about 1818 to make way for the present Custom-house, built on a great portion of its site. Its demolition must have been a work of great labour owing to the solidity and closeness of its masonry, in the cement of which, tradition says, molasses and chopped hemp had been mixed. Lord Valentia, writing of his visit to Calcutta in 1803, says: "The Black Hole is now part of a godown or warehouse; it was filled with goods, and I could not see it. The little Fort is now used as a custom-house." A resident of Calcutta also, who visited the cell itself in 1812, has left a very brief record of the appearance it presented.

It is likely that the disappearance of the Fort led by degrees to the losing memory of the site of the tragedy of Sunday, the 20th of June, 1756, a result easily intelligible in such a changing and fleeting community as that of (European) Calcutta; indeed, even

before the levelling of the first Fort William, erroneous ideas seem to have been locally current, not only as to the scene, but as to the circumstances of the Black Hole catastrophe.

At all events, it may be stated generally that the couple of generations sojourning in Calcutta since the demolition of the old fortress, manifested little concern about its history or topography. It is true that some well-informed writers (notably Mr. Marshman, the Rev. J. Long, and Dr. Norman Chevers), who deprecated this indifference amongst Englishmen residing in Calcutta, made contributions from time to time to the local journals and periodicals about the antecedents of the city; but the interest which they aroused was languid and ephemeral. Similar attempts to attract popular attention to Calcutta antiquities, were resumed by another pen in more recent years, and would have been equally barren of results, but for a circumstance which soon after opportunely occurred to enlist public interest in a site, inseparably associated with the struggle for British supremacy in Bengal.

Much that had come to be only conjectural regarding the topography of the old Fort, was either confirmed or disproved in 1883, when Mr. R. Roskell Bayne, C.E., of the East Indian Railway, read a paper on the subject before the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This gentleman, in preparing for the foundation of the new East Indian Railway Office in Clive Street, came down on what he saw must be the northern curtain and bastions of the levelled old Fort, and he at once took careful notes of what he then and subsequently uncovered, with the view of being able from these fixed data, and by the aid of old outline plans with scales and measurements, to plot out and verify the recorded descriptions of the Fort to be found in the evidence of contemporary writers.

The measurements taken by me," writes Mr. Bayne, "comprised the whole of the north-east bastion, a portion of the north-west sufficient to determine its junction with the curtains, all the north curtain, with about 150 feet of each of the east and west curtains. All these dimensions I have accurately taken, and with these and Orme's figures I have laid out the east, the west, and also the south sides." Mr. Bayne found Orme's figures to be *exact* on the north face.

Particular attention was directed to ascertain, by measurements from the trustworthy starting-points just found, what must have been the position of the Black Hole, the question of whose site had been recently under public discussion. Hitherto all that was known with certainty regarding it was, that it was at the southernmost end of the chambers used as barracks, which were backed by

the eastern curtain, and that it was approximately of certain dimensions; where the southern end of the eastern curtain was could not be told until its length (which was known from record) could be measured off from its now found northern starting-point. The result of the plotting out to scale near the south-east limits of the Fort, was to disclose the curious fact, that the Black Hole chamber had remained almost quite unbuilt over, and that an accurate map of it, which had only to be unburied, was lying (not very many feet from the place which conjecture had assigned to it) under a roadway in the Post-office enclosure between the opium godowns of the Custom-house and the (comparatively) new Post-office.

When opportunity offered, permission was obtained to make a few confirmatory excavations within the old Fort precincts, under Mr. Bayne's supervision, and in October, 1883, the Black Hole, cleared to floor level, was brought to light with its enclosing and verandah walls and their pillars; it was only necessary to imagine these built up to their recorded height (say 18 feet), and the roof put on, to see the actual chamber as described by Holwell and Orme, on the floor of which we were standing. Looked at thus, the cell seemed somewhat narrower and longer, *i.e.*, more an oblong than a square, than one would gather from contemporary evidence. It was about 22 feet in length by about 14½ feet in width, the latter measurement very closely agreeing with that assigned to it by John Cooke. Only three of the boundaries of the cell were uncovered, as the fourth (the southern) would be just under a portion of the Post-office building. The boundary last found was the thin partition wall which divided the cell from the barrack. One only of the walls, the eastern (curtain), was purposely uncovered to any depth; this was found coated with smooth white plaster (which quickly became the prey of relic collectors). There were two concrete floors uncovered; the lower one seemed to have been liable to inundation, as what looked like river silt was found on it—a circumstance which perhaps led to its having been raised at some time by several inches. Guided by the portions of the columns which were unburied, one could determine when looking westward the position of the arches which carried the windows of the cell, and could point to the part of the floor where, beyond all reasonable doubt, Holwell first stood with the two wounded officers and took in the water from the verandah.*

* I cannot profess to be more than approximately accurate in the above few remarks about these excavations which I had the opportunity of seeing in progress. These and others in the limits and vicinity of the old Fort, will I hope

The excavation was allowed to remain open for some short time, and attracted very numerous visitors, and received much popular attention. The Government of Bengal with ready interest sympathised in the generally-felt desire, that so very historical a site should be

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before long be described with professional exactness by Mr. Bayne, C.E., when he can at length find leisure to treat of them in a further contribution for the Asiatic Society. There yet awaits solution a question of much historical and archæological interest to Calcutta, viz., the origin, use, and history of the arcade and arches still to be seen at the southern limits of the old Fort. The attention which Mr. Bayne has given to the remains of old Fort William, coupled with his technical knowledge, would invest with much weight any opinion on this subject which he might hold. Speaking for myself, I strongly incline to the opinion that this piece of building within the Post-office enclosure is a portion of that which Orme says was erected contiguous to the south curtain about 1747, and what Holwell calls the "new godowns to the southward" (alluded to at page 7). Its structure and the nature of the lime used in it show it to be fairly contemporary with found remains of the old Fort. A difficulty in determining its identity arises from the fact that recent excavation has shown, that the arcade was built not against the curtain, but *on* it; *i.e.*, its inner (N.) columns stand on the curtain which must have been taken down to ground level to admit of this. What provision existed in the shape of a work or wall further south, perhaps to cover the open godowns, there is, I believe, no evidence to assist us to conjecture. Where all defence was maintained in a happy-go-lucky style, that to the southward was acknowledged to be the worst. The massive pointed arches and the low powerful columns show to-day that they were designed to bear great weight. As a matter of fact a battery of seven 4-pounders and a fire of small arms were worked from the roof of the "new godowns." In short, the arrangement for getting more warehouse room resulted practically, I believe, in an extension of the Fort to the southward. Orme says that the retreat of the party holding the Governor's house (site of Metcalfe Hall now) "exposed the range of warehouses adjoining to the south curtain." If, as I suggest, there was in reality no longer a south curtain, Orme's remark can only properly apply to the building erected on and out from it. The eastern continuation of the range of arches has long disappeared, but those that remain are well worth being saved from destruction and being decently cared for. They carried the roof which took a very prominent part in the defence of the Fort, and against them were placed the scaling ladders by which that roof was reached by Siraj ud Dowla's soldiery. "At midnight (of the 18th June)," writes Orme, "the enemy were heard approaching to escalade the terraces of these warehouses; on which the Governor ordered the drums to beat the general alarm." And two days later, as we have already seen, the warehouse roof was the stage of the last act in the holding out of the old Fort, as the crowd of stormers on it which met Holwell's gaze on his returning to the S.E. bastion told him that the defenders were at the enemy's mercy. In any case this cloister-like structure with its double row of shapely Moorish arches is a very curious relic of old Calcutta, and should not be converted to base uses. If my contention, as to what it is the remaining part of, be correct, it is incomparably the most interesting historical monument in India in connection with the British.

marked, and directed that what, for the present, was considered the most practicable thing under the circumstances should be done, namely, that as the roadway under which the chamber lay was essential to the Post-office traffic, the excavation should be filled in and decently paved over with granite, and that a tablet bearing this inscription should be placed on the most convenient spot ~~here~~ near:—

"The stone pavement close to this, marks the position and size of the prison cell in old Fort William, known in history as the Black Hole of Calcutta."

Holwell's Monument.

The bodies of those who perished in the Black Hole were buried outside the Fort, in the ditch of the unfinished ravelin: so we are told by the chief survivor and historian of the event, who put up a monument to their memory. The ravelin was an earthwork hurriedly thrown up to cover the main gate; the monument was presumably erected as near as possible to where the bodies were thrown in.

Old maps show it, and Lord Valentia alludes to it, as facing the gateway, *i.e.*, that in the eastern curtain.

There is no record that I know of to show in what year this monument was put up. As Holwell got himself painted in the supposed act of supervising its erection, it raises the presumption that the structure took place before he left India in 1760. This circumstance, too, indicates strongly the importance which he attached to this act of his.

A popular impression prevailed that the monument indicated the site of the actual Black Hole; indeed, I can vouch for the more or less general currency of this belief in Calcutta up to quite recent years. A curious instance, showing how an inaccurate account of an incident of world-wide notoriety can gain credence, even at the place of its occurrence, may be noticed here, if only to exemplify the shortness of social and official memory in India, and the necessity of authoritatively recording in detail even the most remarkable events, if perverted history is to be guarded against within a prospective period by no means remote.

Grandpré, a French officer, who wrote an account entitled "A Voyage to the Indian Ocean and to Bengal, undertaken in 1789-90" (also translated into English), in alluding to the taking of Calcutta, says:—"The conqueror, when he got possession of the Fort at Calcutta, had the prisoners which he took there thrust one upon another into a hole outside the Fort, from which those only were

fortunate enough to come out alive who happened to be uppermost in the heap. The rest were suffocated. In remembrance of so flagrant an act of barbarity, the English, who were conquerors in their turn, erected a monument between the old Fort and the right wing of the building occupied by the civil officers of the Company on the very spot where the deed was committed." It may be presumed that this writer merely retailed the gossip which he gathered in Calcutta itself, only thirty-four years after the event which he thus so erroneously describes.

The old monument was a familiar object to Calcutta for about sixty years. Grandpré gives a drawing of it, which, when compared with that in the frontispiece of Holwell's narrative, would suggest that the original design had been somewhat departed from. This is Grandpré's description of it:—"A pyramid truncated at the top, standing upon a square pedestal having a design in sculpture on each of its sides, and an inscription in the English and Moorish* languages, describing the occasion on which it was erected. It is surrounded with an iron railing to prevent access to it; has shrubs planted about it, and exhibits a mournful appearance, not unsuitable to the event which it is intended to commemorate." Under the French traveller's plate is written:—"Vue du monument nommé Black Hole à Calcutta."

Why such an historical monument should have been taken down in 1821 must now, I fear, be left to conjecture. For some years a belief seems to have been current in Calcutta that it was removed out of deference to the wish of the Marquis of Hastings, who, tradition alleges, considered that its continuance had become politically undesirable, either as likely to wound the sensibilities of our native fellow-subjects, or to recall too prominently at the seat of Government a hideous disaster to British arms, which it would

* Captain Philip Stanhope, who paid his first visit to India in 1774, and afterwards wrote under the *nom de plume* of *Asiaticus*, published at Calcutta in 1803 a little book with the title "Sketches respecting Bengal;" the second part records the epitaphs in and about Calcutta. These would seem to have been collected with much personal care, for, speaking of his publication, he says:—"In this compilation I have wooed truth with the address of a lover: to acquire her favour I have communed with rich and poor: for her I have traversed the streets of Calcutta," &c. Amongst the epitaphs, *Asiaticus* gives the inscriptions on the front and rear of "the monument" just as they appear in Holwell's plate. He makes no mention of the Moorish inscription noted by Grandpré; yet, when a tombstone has an inscription in Oriental character (as on that of Hamilton, the Embassy physician, whose skill won the gratitude of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, 1717), *Asiaticus* is careful to transcribe it.

be wiser to locally bury in oblivion. I have been quite unable to trace the origin or growth of this popular impression. The strong probability, I think, is that the Governor-General of the day got in after years the credit (or the odium?) of an incident which happened during his tenure of office.

As this is a point which should, if possible, have some light thrown on it, if only out of respect for an opinion even vaguely attributed to the head of the Government at the time, I looked through the only local newspapers of 1821, which were available in Calcutta, to try and learn what the general voice had to say in the matter, and came across two allusions to the subject in the *Calcutta Journal.* In one, satisfaction is expressed at the taking down of "the monument over the well-remembered Black Hole," because the editor can see no benefit in keeping alive in the minds of the natives the horrors suffered by Englishmen "at the caprice of a Mahomedan despot" In the other a contributor signing himself "Britannus" is highly indignant at what he describes as an "act of sacrilege," and advocates that as an inadequate atonement "the excellent conservators who have demolished the structure shall forthwith build another as much surpassing the former in size and beauty as it will be inferior in its power of mysterious interest."

So far as they go, these extracts show that, even at the moment when public feeling was exercised at the removal of the old monument, there was no expression of belief that the Marquis of Hastings had any personal connection with the matter. The Governor-General's name was, at a later date possibly, unfairly associated with the disappearance of an historic memorial, when a reason, or rather excuse, was sought for an act of vandalism, for which Calcutta might well have felt ashamed.

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* A "policy" such as is attributed to the Government of 1821 would, in our own time, remove the Cawnpore memorial, and a century back would have forbidden the commemoration of the Patna massacre, yet the following extract from "Proceedings" will show the part taken by the Government of 1764 about that:—

"Agreed, we write to Patna, desiring they will apply to the Nawab through the Resident at the Durbar to make over to us the house where the massacre was perpetrated, and the ground thereto belonging; and, having obtained such a grant, to have the house entirely demolished, and the whole ground railed in a square, in the centre of which the monument will be erected, agreeably to a plan which we shall send them"

A general mourning was ordered also when the news of the massacre reached the Presidency.

A monument, too, was erected to the memory of the slain, to which the Bengal Government in 1880 supplied an inscription tablet.

Simpler reasons will perhaps account for the demolition. In all probability the founder of the monument omitted to provide funds for keeping it in repair. During the closing year of his life in England he was perhaps too poor to do so, if it be true that he fell into pecuniary difficulties; the maintenance of his monument was therefore anybody's business—with the proverbial result. Tradition says that it had been struck by lightning; *Britannus* testifies to "its dark and weather-beaten appearance;" the French traveller thinks it "mournful." We may infer that it had become unsightly, and that it was pronounced to be *too* monumental for a principal thoroughfare in the heart of a city, even then pluming itself upon its palaces; then the recent razing to the ground of the old Fort suggested that the monument so associated with its fortunes might appropriately share its fate. Very probably our predecessors intended to save the original tablets as some *amende* for neglect followed by deplorable activity; but even this would seem to have been ultimately omitted or forgotten, as I am enabled to say that every effort possible, to try and trace what had become of them, was made in vain some three or four years ago.

The newspaper references also exemplify the popular inaccuracies regarding the position and object of the monument. It was not "over the Black Hole:" it was not "raised by the piety of a better generation," but by that of one man. It was not a tribute to the memory of "the few British inhabitants in Bengal" "who met a tragic fate," but to that of all those, with no distinction of race or colour, who did their duty in defending their fortress to the last, and who came by a terrible death in the presence of "their surviving fellow-sufferer."

These are the comrades, soldiers and citizens, black as well as white, whose memories Holwell wished to honour; and whose names, so far as he could recall them, he hoped to hand down, in Calcutta at least, to well-earned respect. The trust thus bequeathed and accepted, though unfortunately lost sight of for too long, will not, I have reason to believe, be altogether forgotten. It may not be feasible,* or indeed now desirable, to carry out the suggestions

* The exigencies of traffic in such a busy crowded city as Calcutta must seriously limit even the best wishes or intentions in this direction. Those who have given most attention to the matter consider that the site of the monument as shown in old plans was where the tram lines cross at the western end of Dalhousie Square (north) (I am referring to Calcutta as I knew it up to 1886). It was not found practicable, so far as I am informed, to confirm this by an excavation over the spot. But other excavations, which Mr. Bayne and I witnessed, showed very clearly where the old monument was *not*, though traces of its foundation were believed by some to have been there found.

made by *Britannus* in 1821; but it would be a gracious act on the part of the Bengal Government, which so promptly responded to the general wish to mark the sight of the Black Hole, to secure by some appropriate monumental design, combining ornament and utility, recognition of the other historic site so mournfully associated with it. Independently of this Calcutta ought to, and will I trust, have put up in its oldest cathedral, as a means of locally perpetuating the main object of Holwell's monument, a copy in marble of the tablet which bore the names of the principal sufferers.

To

The Memory

of

Edw. Eyre, Wm. Baillie, Esqrs., The Rev. Jervas Bellamy, Messrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Coales, Valicourt, Jebb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Dod, Dalrymple; Captains Clayton, Buchanan, Witherington; Lieuts Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simpson, J. Bellamy; Ensigns Paccard, Scot, Hastings, C. Wedderburn, Dumbleton; Sea Captains Hunt, Osburne, Purnell; Messrs. Carey, Leech, Stevenson, Guy, Porter, Parker, Caulker, Bendall, Atkinson, who with sundry other Inhabitants, Military and Militia to the Number of 123 *Persons, were by the Tyrannic Violence of Siraj ud Dowla, Suba of Bengal, Suffocated in the Black Hole Prison of Fort William in the Night of the* 20*th Day of June,* 1756, *and promiscuously thrown the succeeding Morning into the Ditch of the Ravelin of this Place,*

This

Monument is Erected

by

Their Surviving Fellow Sufferer,

J. Z. HOLWELL.

[FRONT OF THE MONUMENT.]

CHAPTER III.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND HIS TIMES, 1774-79.

1. Francis as Junius.

It is a very remarkable coincidence, that there should have been living in Calcutta at the same time, the two men whose lives have since been the subject of more extraordinary investigation, than has been directed towards any statesmen of modern or probably ancient times.

The whole public life of Hastings, we are told, "was subjected to a scrutiny unparalleled in the history of mankind." Perhaps the only life of which something similar can justly be said is, that of his colleague and bitter opponent, Philip Francis. It is true that only a portion of Francis's early career has come in for this exhaustive scrutiny, but that portion has been retrospectively ransacked, not only in its public, but in its private details as well. It has occupied the attention of the ablest writers and politicians, and taxed the ingenuity of the subtlest controversialists and critics; their object being to trace his identity with that of the invisible political censor, whose writings to the public press under various pseudonyms, but especially that of Junius, created so profound a sensation in England in the early years of George the Third. The interest accordingly concentrated on the pre-Indian career of this remarkable man, has been so absorbing, that the years passed in India have been comparatively overlooked. For the student of Indian history, however, he should have an interest quite independent of his European celebrity.

If (to give but a single instance) to be in advance of one's time is an indication of greatness, Sir Philip Francis must be ranked as a great Indian statesman. It is claimed for him in his biography that, within a short time after his arrival in Calcutta, he sketched out in a letter to the Prime Minister of England a plan for the government of India, which was not appreciated for many years, and was only adopted in its main features nearly a century later. It is also beyond doubt that he sent home a land-revenue scheme

for the "permanent settlement" of Bengal,* which, though carried out by Lord Cornwallis and associated with his name, was first officially planned and advocated by Francis; yet, unfortunately, this is the period of his career of which his biographers have least to say.

For the present, however, we are concerned rather with his personal, than his official, life in India, and, with this view, it is proposed to recall two or three notable incidents in it which will bring before us some typical men and manners of Calcutta in the last century. And as the general reader may very pardonably now-a-days plead, that he has forgotten a good deal connected with the topic of the "Letters of Junius," it may perhaps be allowable, for the better understanding of possible allusion afterwards, to devote this first chapter to something preliminary, touching the mysterious performance with which the name of Philip Francis is notoriously associated, and to refer as briefly as will serve for introduction to his European antecedents.

To many readers such introduction will, of course, be superfluous.

Happily, it is now almost universally conceded that the calm of solution has settled on the once fiercely disputed question of the authorship of the "Letters of Junius"—a question henceforth likely to have but little attraction, save for the casual antiquarian, or the burrower amongst the curiosities of literary and political history.

The claims of three dozen or more candidates to the equivocal honour, which were advocated from time to time, were hopelessly abandoned one after another. The case made out for the claim raised for Philip Francis, however, stands forth only the more convincingly, the ampler the investigation, the wider the range and nature of the scrutiny applied to it; till at length a vast array of independent arguments and circumstances have been brought together with ever-accumulating force, which all tend to furnish the same conclusion, to lead to the one ultimate inference. To this accumulation of circumstantial evidence, has been added the material evidence afforded by the professional examination of the handwriting of Junius, minutely compared with that of Francis, and of some other candidates, by the late M. Chabot, the expert (published by the Hon. Mr. Twistleton some years ago), which

* Francis laid claim to this in the House of Commons in February, 1806, in the debate on the erection of a monument to Lord Cornwallis.

annihilates all other claimants, and leaves no room for doubt that the hand which wrote the "Letters of Junius" was the hand of Philip Francis.* In the face of this last evidence, the stoutest believers in the inviolability of the Junian secret (notably the *Quarterly Review*) confessed themselves converts; and even the late Mr. Hayward, Q.C., the most subtle and uncompromising of them all, the author of "The Franciscan Theory Unsound," was silenced.

The marvellous fact thus became demonstrated, that the caustic writer, the audacious State satirist, whose accurate information and envenomed shafts perplexed and wounded even the highest, proved to be a clerk in the War Office, whose craft and subtlety in guarding the secret of his newspaper writings were such, that he was wholly unsuspected by his contemporaries, and that his name was never even mentioned in connection with the famous Letters, till forty years after the appearance of the last one.

When "Junius Identified with a Distinguished Living Character" was published in 1814, Sir Philip Francis was an old man, retired from public life, but moving in the highest society. He then shrank from the greatness thrust upon him, heavily weighted as it would have been with shame. He must have felt that to have acknowledged then that Junius and Francis were one, would have been to confess that, for some busy years of his early manhood, he had been a treacherous, dark intriguer—a marvel of duplicity and turpitude—a character that no abilities,† however splendid, no services however unrivalled, could redeem. Accordingly he disowned the impeachment in an evasive sort of way to

* Mr. Hayward's contribution to the Junian controversy under the above title (or "More about Junius") is said to have made a convert of the late Chief Justice Cockburn. "Five out of six of the best intellects of my acquaintance," writes Hayward, "think the Franciscan theory rudely shaken, if not demolished." "But Lady Palmerston wrote to him in January, 1868, "Many thanks for your pamphlet about Junius, which has amused and interested me very much. Several of your objections are startling, but still I am convinced Francis is the man; and his manner, which I remember so well, was quite of a piece with his dashing style of writing." Three years later (1871) when M. Chabot's exhaustive analysis of the handwriting was published, no one came forward with an attempt to refute his argument in favour of Francis, which seemed to be unassailably based on the only foundation of any real value in such a controversy. (See Appendix B.)

† Amongst the letters received in his youth, preserved by Philip Francis, was one from his father written to the clever boy at St. Paul's School, which contains this passage—"Genius and abilities are in general very happy possessions; yet an injudicious use of them makes the possessors odious, and sometimes even contemptible."

the world, but, at the same time, did not conceal from his second wife that he wished her to understand that it was true.

The disappearance of Junius has been somewhat loosely described, as closely connected in time with the resignation of the War Office by Francis, an event that was the precursor of much scurrilous abuse of Lord Barrington, the Secretary at War, in the final letters to the public press written by Junius, not under that signature, but under several changes of pseudonym; letters which are absolutely stupid in their vulgar malignity and abounding truculence, and strangely contrast with the choice, incisive language and the admirable style, of which the author of Junius showed himself at one time to be master—especially in his earlier letters. The popular idea was that Junius ceased to write on his identity becoming known to Ministers (it is suggested by Brougham that the discovery was probably made by the Secretary at War); and the question arose whether a prosecution should not be instituted. The story went that Lord Mansfield was consulted, but the Chief Justice, having had quite enough of the temper and obstinacy of Middlesex juries in the cases of the printers, strongly protested against courting a more signal defeat in the person of the principal, and recommended a humiliating resort to conciliatory, instead of to violent measures—that the dreaded Junius, in short, should be got rid of by hush-money. Junius himself said in the most emphatic of his writings, in the dedication of his collected letters to the English nation, "If I am a vain man my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me." One would think that a secret shared in by so many, a secret that all England was on tip-toe to discover, would soon be on the high road to universal divulgence; yet, in spite of this and of its inherent improbabilities, the story gained the credence of some high authorities. Lord Campbell, who adopted it from Lady Francis, a firm believer, thus gives the pith of it: "Junius, from the acquittal of the printers till the beginning of the year 1772 (when he made a treaty with the Government and for ever disappeared), exercised a tyranny of which we can form little conception, living in an age when the press is more decorous, and we are able by law to restrain its excesses." . . . . . "At last the great boar of the forest, who had gored the King and almost all his court, was conquered, not by the spear of a knight-errant, but by a little provender held out to him, and he was sent to whet his tusks in a distant land." The provender here alluded to was a seat in the newly-appointed Council to the Governor General of India,

with a salary of ten thousand pounds a year. The story, however, was necessarily exploded on the publication, a few years ago, of the memoirs and correspondence of Sir Philip Francis, when it became evident that, during his time in India, he carried on a friendly correspondence with the Prime Minister, Lord North, who would have scorned the friendship of a newspaper assassin whom he had bribed to silence, and that, whatever may have been the cause of his retiring from the War Office, he left it *ostensibly* on good terms with the head of it. It also came to light that he lived ever after, both in India and England, in amicable, nay, even affectionate relations with his old chief, who we were asked to believe had the strongest reasons to at least suspect, that Francis was the man who, under a disguise, heaped on him such flowers of rhetoric as "the bloody Barrington," "the name that implies everything that is mean, cruel, false, and contemptible," the "fawning traitor to every party and person," the "assiduous parasite."*

The tyranny of Junius alluded to by Lord Campbell depended a good deal, probably, on the well-concealed mystery of the authorship, and is also ascribable as much to the political circumstances under which he made his appearance, as to the force of his writings. The time was out of joint when he came to set it right. The whole system of Parliamentary representation had become rotten. A well-meaning king, who, it must be allowed, had the courage of his convictions, and extraordinary tenacity of purpose, was adopting the scheme of personal rule (in which he was so thorough a believer), aided not by loyal, but by obsequious ministers. The people meanwhile were disgusted with the corruption of an oppressive oligarchy. The disease had reached such a critical period, that festering wounds, to be healed, had first to be exposed and opened up, and in this operation the pitiless knife of Junius did signal service. In castigating abuses, weapons in his armoury too frequently resorted to, were no doubt libel and shameful personal slander; his aim was, perhaps, not purely the public welfare, but

* From Calcutta Francis wrote to Barrington, telling him of the distracted government, and adding, "Again I commit myself to your lordship's patronage." Lord Barrington wrote back: "I love you both (Clavering and Francis) so much that I cannot wish you to continue long in a situation so painful, though so creditable to you." On his return from India, Francis was a frequent guest at Brocket (Lord Barrington's), and lived with him in such intimacy, that, if there were no other reason for concealment, it would have been impossible for Francis to avow himself as Junius (so says Mr. Merivale). Lord Barrington did not die till 1793.

the result was the public gain. We should have difficulty now in understanding the extraordinary popularity of the writings of this formidable censor, unless we keep in view the stormy days when George the Third was young. Nevertheless, many of the letters of Junius are instructive and enjoyable reading still—all the more so, perhaps, that their wit has ceased to sting or their invective to enrage.

Even to Francis' most intimate relatives his Indian appointment was a cause of wonder. An American cousin, a lawyer, writes to him:—

"I have perused the Regulation Bill carefully, and am of opinion that it will answer all your purposes effectually. It gives you vast power and a vast salary. But how did you get this appointment? It is miraculous to me that a man should resign his office in 1772; and in 1773, without any change of ministry, be advanced in so very extraordinary a manner.

"Your merit and abilities I was always ready to acknowledge, sir, but I was never taught to think much of Lord North's virtue and discernment; his treatment of you has in some measure redeemed him, in my opinion."

His biographer, Mr. Merivale, calls his appointment a "provoking mystery—an extraordinary promotion from the position of a young and obscure retired clerk in the War Office," thus re-echoing an objection of the Court of Directors when his nomination by Parliament was brought to them. It is unfair thus to sum up his qualification for a high office by a reference to the comparatively humble one recently held. Let us see what his training had been. Immediately after leaving St. Paul's School, with the reputation of being its cleverest scholar, he was appointed to a clerkship in the Secretary of State's office. When only eighteen he was sent as secretary to General Bligh during the Expedition to the French coast, resulting in the destruction of Cherbourg. After that he was distinguished by being nominated secretary to a Special Embassy to Lisbon. Having thus gained much official experience and knowledge of men, at an exceptionally early age, he returned to the Secretary of State's office and betook himself to deep study of political science, and especially of the constitution and laws of England. We next find him selected to be occasional amanuensis during eighteen months to the great Pitt, a period and an occupation to which Francis thus alluded long afterwards in the House of Commons:—"In the early part of my life I had the good fortune to hold a place very inconsiderable in itself, but immediately under the late Earl of Chatham. He descended from his station to

take notice of mine, and he honoured me with repeated marks of his favour and protection." After that he was given the responsible berth of chief clerk in the War Office, which he voluntarily resigned nine years afterwards, presumably because he was superseded. His name was even known favourably to the King, who, writing to Lord North, says:—"As to the other gentlemen who have applied to you I do not know anything of their personal qualifications, except Mr. Francis, who is allowed to be a man of talents" (*sic*). Many a man without a fourth of these qualifications has been appointed since to the Supreme Council in India, and it may be safely predicted will be in the future, without his nomination being called a mystery. Francis's own explanation is the simplest, and most probably the true one; viz., he accidentally heard that one of the intended councillors (Mr. Cholwell) had declined the nomination, and just in the nick of time Francis applied for it to Lord North, who wished to bring his Regulating Act cut and dried, with the proposed councillors named, before Parliament. He also said that Edmund Burke, though he opposed the New Indian Act, "spoke handsomely of me in debate as a very proper person for the office."

The interest which Francis brought to bear was that of Lord Barrington, to whom, with a confidence which seemed to defy detection, he boldly applied, and from whom he got the most active and handsome support. The appointment took place in June, 1773—*i.e.*, fifteen months after Francis's retirement from the War Office. The merits of his antecedents were alone sufficient to get him an appointment which, it must be remembered, was practically going a-begging at the eleventh hour. It had also been declined by Burke, possibly by others. It will be seen later on how small the prize seemed to Francis on realization, and how little it satisfied his tastes or his great ambition.

It is also necessary for a further elucidation of the "mystery" to bear in mind who his fellow-councillors from England were to be—two military officers, General Clavering and Colonel Monson,* with powerful connexions, to whose share these Indian loaves and fishes fell, mainly to satisfy Court and Parliamentary in-

* I have to thank Mr. Beveridge for the knowledge that this was the gallant Monson mentioned by Orme as serving with great bravery in the wars in the Carnatic. It is a curious coincidence that one of Francis's colleagues was the friend and brother-in-arms of Sir Wm. Draper, who provoked some of the earliest letters of Junius. Clavering was Brigadier General at the attack on Guadelope in 1759. He led the British force in person.

fluence. The presumption was never sanguinely entertained that, either by ability or previous training, were they fitted for the duties of the high and novel position assigned to them; and this was amply verified in the days, few and evil, allotted to them in Calcutta. Some make-weight therefore was essential; and where could this have more suitably been found than in the hard-working, well-trained official of such varied experience as the ex-Chief Clerk in the War Office, who was then thirty-two years of age, and in the enjoyment of the full ripeness of his cultivated talents? Francis might be relied on for the brains and the work; his colleagues for the deportment. That Francis himself complacently fell in with this apportioning of their respective functions is tolerably clear. In one of his earliest letters from India, written to the brother of Edmund Burke, he says, "When I see this glorious Empire, which I was sent to save and govern, tottering upon the verge of ruin," &c.

To Lord Clive he wrote, "Look sharp after the fate of your jaghire. . . . I will not scruple to say to you what I have never suggested to any other person, that if I am recalled, or if an arrangement should take place under which I cannot exert myself with effect, you may as well take leave of Bengal for ever."

When we mark the egotism here, we are not surpised to learn that his nickname in Calcutta was "King Francis," "Francis the First." *

Though Philip Francis may in his early life have schemed as a political adventurer, and may have been disparagingly sneered at as "a mere War Office clerk" when selected for high preferment, it must not be forgotten that he justified the selection by the exhibition of a virture which enabled him to look down on all his predecessors and most of his contemporaries, and which, standing supreme as a qualification for exalted position and influence in India, earned this florid, but truthful tribute to his memory from an ex-Lord Chancellor.

"He had been an Indian satrap in the most corrupt times, and retired from the barbaric land washed by Ormus and Ind, the land of pearls and gold, with hands so clean and a fortune so moderate,

* A voluminous writer of pamphlets about Indian matters (Price), who was an uncompromising foe to Francis, accounts for the above nickname thus: "Once in India an intrepreter was pressed by Francis to explain to an ambassador what a great man he (Francis) was, and being at a loss for a proper comparison to illustrate his power, desired the man to describe him as being the fifth part of a king." Price apostrophises Francis as "thou virtuous particle of a king."

that in the fiercest storms of faction no man ever for an instant dreamt of questioning the absolute purity of his administration."*

Any modern Indian administrators who may perhaps be dreaming of fame, or even flattering themselves that their memory will outlive their generation, may derive some prospective consolation from the reflection, that this brilliantly-gifted man sojourned for six years of the prime of his life in Calcutta, waging a constant war against unscrupulous government, and endeavouring to maintain, what he believed to be, the cause of right against wrong, and yet that he has left behind him scarcely the shadow of a name. Were Philip Francis to be mentioned in ordinary conversation in Calcutta to-day, his name would be unknown to many as that of an Indian statesman, or would be dimly recognized in connection with something relating rather to social than official life. It would be associated probably with some passages in one of Macaulay's essays, and the question would be asked, if he were not the man who was angry because he did not land under royal honours from Fort William; or the remark would be hazarded that he was the profligate who ran away with somebody's wife, and then fought a duel about her with the Governor-General under a big tree on the maidan, or under two trees "so well known as the trees of destruction," as the story sometimes goes.

Let me, therefore, as my object is chiefly to gossip about old times, make a starting-point of the vaguely remembered circumstances just alluded to, and endeavour to get rid of some of the inaccuracies with which time has embellished them. We may as well see in the first place what were the actual facts in connexion with the landing at Calcutta of Francis and his fellow-councillors, and what was the etiquette observed as placed on official record.

Before recalling the incidents of the duel between the Governor-General and the senior member of the Council, a still more memorable duel which followed hard upon the landing of the new arrivals must be detailed.

It may then be of interest to turn our attention more to the social doings of Francis and his contemporaries; to take a look at their every-day life, and to see what some of them thought of an Indian career. A survey, too, may be taken at the press and other institutions of Calcutta a hundred years ago.

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* Brougham evidently did not place any value on the insinuations of so rabid a political opponent as Major Scott, who challenged Francis in the House of Commons (1787) to account for the source of the money which he brought from India, over and above the savings from his official salary.

The Arrival of Francis in Calcutta, 1774.

There is no anecdote more frequently repeated regarding Calcutta and its passed-away celebrities than the one which tells of the chagrin and disappointment said to have been evinced by the newly-arrived Members of Council, because they were not received with a "royal salute" on their landing at Chandpal Ghat on the 19th October, 1774. The story, too, is paraded whenever it is desired to quote an apt illustration of mighty events springing from little causes. Thus Macaulay says:—

"The members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side."

Two other well-known writers on India allude to the circumstance as though Philip Francis were the head and front of the vexation at the breach of etiquette, and therefore alone responsible for the subsequent embroilment; and tradition as it exists to-day adopts this view, and Francis (possibly because he alone is of historical importance) is gibbeted by common consent when there is no evidence whatever to show that he was more to blame than his fellow-passengers in the new Council. Mr. Marshman says on the subject, speaking of Chandpal Ghat (*Calcutta Review*):—

"It was here that the author of Junius counted one by one the guns which boomed from the Fort, and found to his mortification that their number did not exceed seventeen, when he had expected nineteen. This circumstance appears to have laid the foundation of the implacable hatred he manifested towards Hastings, and which for six years exposed the administration of the country to contempt. Is it unreasonable to suppose that if his self-esteem had been gratified by two additional charges of powder, the unseemly and dangerous opposition, &c."

Sir John Kay follows suit, and holds up Francis in particular.

"As they neared the batteries of Fort William they were greeted with a salute of nineteen guns. Having calculated, upon what reasonable grounds it is impossible to conjecture, that they would have been received with a royal salute, &c., Francis, who had left England in a position to which no one would have touched a hat, was especially incensed. He appears at once to have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard. From that moment he became the bitter, unrelenting enemy of Warren Hastings, &c."

It will be seen that the two authors just quoted differ slightly in the number of guns given and expected. But no one refers to the authority on which such sweeping assertions are made. The following extracts from a musty blue-book will perhaps give a juster idea on the merits of this question than seems to be generally held. Whatever the new Members of Council may have said in society about the want of ceremony attending their landing, or whatever society may have said for them (which is just as likely), it is certain that they made no official complaint or representation about the slight, and there seems no ground whatever for attributing early action in the matter to Francis more than to anyone else. That some reflections on the inferred or apparent want of courtesy were freely indulged in socially is more than probable, and the fact of Hastings grappling with them before they had assumed a tangible official form was a blunder, as it laid him open to the retort of "qui s'excuse s'accuse," which the opposition in their rejoinder (evidently from the pen of Francis) were not slow to avail themselves of.

Before referring to official documents for information on this subject, we may see what can be gathered from contemporary private sources. It may be premised that the four Judges, appointed by the New Regulating Act for India, started from England at the same time as the new Members of Council. The former sailed in the *Anson*, the latter with their party in the *Ashburnham*. Francis was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Alexander Macrabie. Between the two a warm friendship of old standing existed. Amongst the many sins attributed to Francis, closeness in money matters was one; but his treatment of his brother-in-law, a young man of about his own age, showed the utmost kindness and generosity. A few years before Francis resigned his War Office appointment, Macrabie had left England for Philadelphia where he had obtained the managing clerkship in some British mercantile house, but the place did not seem to suit him, and Francis, who was not over well off himself, wrote to him, "We have long since

agreed how easy it is to find fault, but whoever fails you, be always assured that my heart will ever be open; in short, if you cannot determine on any plan where you are, you have nothing to do but to return to my house and stay in it until something else can be thought of." A month later he wrote again: "I need not repeat what I hope you are convinced of, that though all fail, my house is your sure retreat, so be not unhappy about a disappointment more or less."* When the Indian appointment came to Francis he provided for his brother-in-law with the post of private secretary. Macrabie repaid all this kindness with an affection amounting to devotion.

On the voyage, and in India afterwards, Macrabie kept a diary, some extracts from which find a place in the memoirs of Francis, who had preserved it among his own papers. The recorded observations of the secretary very probably reflect with tolerable accuracy the feelings of his chief, and of the other councillors; he comments with jealous censoriousness on the inadequate attention bestowed on them.

The Judges were the first who fell under his displeasure; they monopolized all the homage while the ships anchored for ten days in Funchal Road, for the diary notes:—

"We observe that the commission with the great seal constantly attends the Judges. The Chief Justice has stolen a march on the gentlemen of the Council in point of precedence, a mark of distinction which takes from the dignity of the latter without doing any credit, in my opinion, to the other honourable gentlemen."

A man in this frame of mind is on a pinnacle looking out for slights, which then, of course, are seen in abundance.

At Madras the pestilent Judges are in the way again, but the Secretary seems to have been comforted.

"Supreme Court always take the lead of us. They sail better than we do, and their charter gives them precedence.† Their worships landed

* But affectionate friends though they were, not even to him did Francis confide anything touching the Junius mystery. Macrabie wrote from America to Francis in March, 1770,—"Junius is the Mars of malcontents. His letter to the King is past all endurance as well as all compare—who the devil can he be?"

† Francis himself thus remarks on this precedence: "The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature, who is not a member of the Council, immediately takes place of all those persons (except the Governor) to whom the regency of the country is committed; and the same pre-eminence is secured to the present puisne judges over those who shall succeed us in Council. The natural conclusion in the mind of the native must be that the judicial is the first power, and the judges the first persons in the State."

two days before us. What marks of honour and respect they may have been distinguished by, I know not; but nothing could exceed those shown to our party."

These extracts will be sufficient to show the morbid anxiety with which one individual, at all events, must have looked forward to the approaching official reception of "our party" at Calcutta. Accordingly he there resumes his censorship:—

"Exactly at noon, a comfortable season for establishing the etiquette of precedency, the whole party are disposed in three boats, and both courts safely landed at the capital of their jurisdiction. The procession to the Governor's house beggars all description; the heat, the confusion, not an attempt at regularity. No guards, no person to receive or to show the way, no state."

His appetite for ceremonial distinction had, however, become so keen by this time, that he hints that even the smallest crumbs would have been acceptable; for he adds,

"But surely Mr. Hastings might have put on a ruffled shirt!"

Francis himself, writing to a cousin in America a few days afterwards, says simply: "We landed here October 19, upon which occasion the acclamations were as loud and the congratulations as sincere as we expected." Not a word about the insufficiency of the guns in all the private writings.

Only once does Francis himself refer to the reception at the landing, and then no doubt with displeasure, but he seems rather to be reflecting General Clavering's opinion than his own. The allusion occurs in a private memorandum reviewing public transactions since their arrival.

"The mean and dishonourable reception we met with at our landing gave Clavering the second shock."

Francis's biographer did not attach much importance to his connection with the suggested cause of the terrible six years' war that followed, for he says in a footnote: "The common story that the three new Members of the Council took offence at being greeted with a salute of nineteen guns only, instead of a royal salute, finds no confirmation that I can discover in the Francis papers." The biographer had probably never seen the despatches from which the following extracts are made.

Extracted from Governor-General's letter to the Court of Directors, dated 3rd December, 1774:—

"I am ashamed to call the public attention to a subject so exceed-

ingly frivolous as that which I am now compelled to enter upon in my own further justification. They accuse me of having failed in paying them the honours due to them. Their accusation against me on this head is confined to the following particulars: Only seventeen guns were fired on their arrival; troops were not drawn out to receive them; they were met at my own house, and not at the Council-house; there was a delay from Friday till Monday, three days, in the order for issuing the new commissions in Public Orders; and, lastly, the proclamation of the new Government was not made with sufficient parade.

"To these five articles I must reply separately—

"*1st.*—The orders given for the salutes were, that seventeen guns should be fired for the Chief Justice and the Judges; the like number for General Clavering; fifteen, as ordered by the Court of Directors, for Sir Edward Hughes; and thirteen for each of the Members of the Board, if they come separately; if they should all arrive at the same time, the highest salute directed to be fired for the whole; and this was agreeable to the practice which hitherto had been observed—I had no other rule to go by. They did arrive together, and were accordingly saluted with seventeen guns.

"*2nd.*—If they had landed at the Fort, the garrison should have been under arms to receive them. It appeared to me unmilitary to draw troops out of garrison to compliment their landing at a distance from it.

"*3rd.*—If I could have defined their expectations of being received, not at my house, but at the Council-house, or if I could have imagined that this was considered a matter of any sort of significance, I certainly should have answered their wishes; but the circumstance neither occurred to myself, nor was it suggested to any other person. I thought then, and truly I think still, that the deputing the senior Member of the Board to wait on them in the river, and attend them to town, and the assembling of all the other gentlemen of the old Council at my house for their reception, were ample marks of attention and respect to them.

"*4th.*—The delay of three days in issuing the commissions was occasioned by a request of mine, dictated by my feelings on first perusing them. I had before received private intimation of their purport, but my information was not complete, and I was hurt at the extraordinary reduction of my authority which was to take place, and the apparent inconsistency of investing the second person in the administration with greater ostensible powers than the first. While I was agitated by these considerations, I requested this time to determine within myself whether I would accept of this new Government, or conclude the period of my services to the Company with the close of the late administration, before they were published; and when my request was acquiesced in, I did not expect to have found it stated as an exceptionable part of my conduct.

"*5th.*—With respect to the want of parade in proclaiming the new

Government, the members of the Board have themselves been to blame for any deficiency in this particular. They formed a majority, and might have ordered what pomp and ostentation they pleased, but it is extraordinary that they should agree to measures and then throw the blame of them upon me. I am averse to parade myself, and have never used it. I proposed a written advertisement as the usual mode of proclamation here; they thought a military attendance necessary, which was accordingly ordered to attend upon the Sheriff, whom I thought the proper officer to publish a Civil Government. But it may be necessary to remark that if there was any deficiency of respect in my conduct on the above occasion, it could not be personally intended against them, since the new Government was its object, and I myself had the highest interest in the honours paid to it, being the head of that Government.

"Upon the whole, I must remark that I paid them higher honours than had ever been paid to persons of their rank in this country; as high even as had been paid to Mr. Vansittart and Lord Clive, when they came in the first station as Governors, men whose names will ever stand foremost in the memoirs of the people of this country, and who merited as much from their employers as any who have filled, or are likely to fill, that station. I wrote letters severally to the three gentlemen at Madras, bespeaking their confidence, as a measure necessary to the safety of the Company. The Board sent their senior member down the river to meet them; and, as a mark of personal respect from me, one of the gentlemen of my staff attended them; the whole Council assembled at my house to receive them on their landing. What more could I do without derogating from my own rank? But they seem to have considered themselves as the Government, and to have required the honours done to it entire to be paid to their own persons, forgetting that they were only a part, and that it was from the head they expected such concessions."

Extracted from minute of General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Francis, dated 11th January, 1775, and received in London the 18th of July, 1775, containing observations and remarks on the Governor-General's appeal to the Court of Directors, of the 3rd of December, 1774:—

"21. Some inattention to ceremonies on the part of the Governor in the mode of our reception is supposed to have had a share in creating or confirming in us those hostile resolutions which we are accused of having formed against him. The first objection we make to all that the Governor has said on this article is, that it is a defence without a charge. We leave it to our superiors to judge what sort of consciousness is implied in so hasty an anticipation of charges not advanced against him.

"22. Our second objection would be to his statement of the facts, if we thought it worthy of ourselves or consistent with the prosecu-

tion of business of a far heavier nature, to descend to such a detail. As for the rest, we hope it will be thought too much to be believed, on no better evidence than Mr. Hastings's bare affirmation, that we are capable of engaging in measures which, if they are such as he describes them, may subvert an empire, merely to revenge an omission of ceremony, for which the slightest concession from Mr. Hastings ought to have been so sufficient an excuse, that we could not have declined accepting it without betraying an injudicious appearance of hostility to him and disgracing ourselves.

"23. If the charges of a personal failure in the respects due to Mr. Hastings had had any foundation whatsoever, we think it ought not to have been described by so gross a term as that of a 'warfare of scurrility.' The expressions to which he himself applies and confines that description are on record, and referred to by himself. Our superiors will judge whether they have a reference to the public measures of the late administration, or personally to Mr. Hastings; and whether, supposing them to be directed against measures only, they were or could be too strong for the occasion."

Before Francis had been six months in India he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, showing how he at first strangely undervalued the ability of Hastings. "If in this or any other instance the Governor-General's conduct, or the motives I attribute to him, should appear upon examination to imply a weakness and want of judgment in him that exceed probability, I can only say, with an appeal to your Lordship's future observation, that without denying him some little talents of the third or fourth order, we were as much deceived with regard to his abilities and judgment as to his other qualifications." Macaulay's sagacity gave him the deeper insight into Hastings which, no doubt to his cost, Francis got later. "Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations till a remedy could be found resembled the patience of stupidity." "Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was, indeed, the person who gave the official writing of the Indian Government the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings."

CHAPTER IV.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND HIS TIMES.

2. Nuncomar, 1775.

"An Indian Government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined, and in twenty-four hours it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial, that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive . . . Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councillors. . . . . It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favour of the majority of the Council, to become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councillors, he had paid the most marked court to them, and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government-house. He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up for sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape . . . . The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levée, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Govenor-General. . . . . On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common gaol. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native. But it was then, and still is, the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the Judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The Judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar; and this they did. In the meantime the assizes commenced; a true bill was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great

quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain, that whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the Statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society in India."

The foregoing passages from Macaulay's essay on Warren Has tings give the pith of the historical incident, to some account of which it is proposed to devote this chapter.

On looking to the record of the train of occurrences which conspired to give importance and political significance, to the first great criminal trial before the new Supreme Court at Calcutta, and to the circumstances attending it, we trace the active brain and busy pen of Philip Francis, and see that he was a prime mover in those events. He had colleagues who acted with him, it is true, but so greatly did this aggressive man tower over them, and over all his Calcutta contemporaries—but one—in ability, energy, and subtlety, that the eye is idly bent on those, their prattle is comparatively of no account. Indeed, it may reasonably be said, that had Philip Francis never been to India, the trial or the execution of even so prominent a native as Nuncomar, would have been but a nine days' wonder; history would have had no cognizance of it.

Again, when Francis's fellow actors had long passed away, the course of events led to the half-forgotten forgery drama, being brought into stronger light than ever on another stage; even there while the story of Nuncomar, and of the alleged political and judicial atrocities of which he had been the victim, is being passionately told in all its harrowing details to an English audience, behind the scenes we see Philip Francis—"the voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

Therefore, as the period of Calcutta life with which these sketches deal, is that indicated in the title of "Philip Francis and his Times," the trial of Nuncomar claims early notice.

It is not proposed just now to follow at any length in the well-trodden steps of those who have discussed the political or technical features of the prosecution and its result. The object rather is to look back for a little across the intervening century, and while

bringing into light from mouldy volumes, a few of the dimly remembered facts and circumstances attending a celebrated trial and execution, to recall the names of some of the more prominent actors in a scene which brought Calcutta into such unenviable notice a little over one hundred years ago. Which profoundly moved public feeling in England, engaging the scrutiny of her Parliament, and exercising the keenest attention of some of her greatest orators and statesmen, one of whom, Edmund Burke, is described as having had "as lively an idea of the execution of Nuncomar * as of the execution of Dr. Dodd."

From his earliest days Nuncomar was employed in various official capacities under the (Native) Government of Bengal. In the time of Siraj ud Dowla he was Governor of Hoogly. From then, during the several changes of government in Bengal, he led an intriguing, aspiring, and unprincipled career. Though his life had not been free from some adverse vicissitudes, his talents and experience gained him wealth, and his services to the Government at Murshidábád, and to that of the Company at Calcutta, raised him to the position of a very influential and conspicuous personage in Bengal. The title of Maharajah was conferred upon him by the Emperor Shah Alam about 1764. In appearance he has been described as tall and majestic in person, robust, yet graceful. When the misfortune which has immortalized his name befell him he was nearly seventy years of age.

When the charge of forgery was laid against Nuncomar on the 6th of May, 1775, Mr. Justice Lemaistre happened to be the sitting magistrate; for the judges of the Supreme Court were then also justices of the peace for Calcutta, an objectionable arrangement, which involved the eventual trial of a prisoner at the assizes, by a judge who had already come to a conclusion as to his guilt. Lemaistre requested the assistance of Mr. Justice Hyde, who attended with him the whole day till ten o'clock at night, "when, no doubt remaining in the breast of either of us upon the evidence on the part of the Crown," a commitment was made.

The following copy of their warrant will explain matters, and will show that two of the judges who afterwards took a most prominent part in the trial, thus early applied the statute law which made forgery in Calcutta not a misdemeanour, but felony, and so

* I have retained this faulty spelling because the adoption and use of it by the great ones of the past have made it classic :—

Nand(a) Kúmar would be more correct; the word means the son of Nanda —a name of Krishna.—(Beveridge).

far committed themselves to an opinion upon what afterwards appeared to be a doubtful, or at all events very arguable, point of law.

"*To the Sheriff of the Town of Calcutta and Factory of Fort William in Bengal, and to the Keeper of His Majesty's prison at Calcutta.*

"Receive into your custody the body of Maharajah Nuncoomar herewith sent you, charged before us upon the oaths of Mohund Persaud, Cumal-uil-Dien Khan and others, with feloniously uttering as true a false and counterfeit writing obligatory, knowing the same to be false and counterfeit, in order to defraud the executors of Bolakee Doss, deceased: and him safely keep until he shall be discharged by due course of law.

"S. C. LEMAISTRE.*
"JOHN HYDE.

"Given under our hands and seals this sixth day of May in the year of Our Lord 1775."

It may be here explained that the bond or deed which the accused was charged with uttering, knowing it to be forged, purported to be the acknowledgment of a debt to him from a native shroff, or banker, incurred several years before. The banker died in June, 1769, and when his affairs were being wound up some few months afterwards, Nuncomar's bond was, with the other claims, settled by the executors; on its being paid, Nuncomar cancelled it (by tearing it downwards at the top for a couple of inches), and gave a receipt in satisfaction of his claim. These documents, with others relating to the banker's estate, found their way afterwards into the Mayor's Court, presumably in its capacity as a court of probate. Other money also of the deceased banker came into Nuncomar's possession, but the amount of that in this bond alone was nearly 70,000rs.; if this was obtained by fraud, the crime was one of great enormity, for it deprived the shroff's family of half their substance. It was the betrayal of a trust, too, which in all countries, even the

* The pamphleteering ship captain, Joe Price (who at the ensuing assizes served on the Grand Jury), has a curious statement about this committent in one of his letters to Burke, viz., "It is very singular that the judge who committed the rajah was on but indifferent terms with Mr. Hastings—no enmity between the men themselves; it was a lady war, which sometimes will engage and draw aside the attention of the wisest of mankind. I mention this because it was confidently said that the justice acted in obedience to the wishes of the Governor." When only one justice was referred to, Lemaistre was most likely to be the man. Could it be that he was too attentive, or possibly insufficiently so, to the favourite, Mrs. Imhoff, and thereby aroused the displeasure in the celestial mind?

most wicked men have been found reluctant to violate; for the dead man had been his friend, and said to Nuncomar, who came to see him in his last illness: "Here are my wife and daughter: I recommend them to your care, and I wish you to behave to them as you have behaved to me.*

When the two Justices were about to go away, Mr. Jarrett, an attorney, came in and requested to be heard on the part of the prisoner. He represented that Nuncomar "was a person of very high rank, of the caste of Brahmins," and that he would be defiled if placed in the common gaol. But it appeared there was no other place to confine him in, and the Judges considered it improper that he should be sent to a private house.

Under pressure they agreed to consult the Chief Justice, which they proceeded to do at once at the Chief Justice's house.

The result of the conference was the following note to Mr. Tolfrey, the Under-Sheriff:—

"Upon consultation with the Lord Chief Justice, we are all clearly of opinion that the Sheriff ought to confine his prisoner in the common gaol upon this occasion.

"S. C. LEMAISTRE."

The prisoner was committed on Saturday; on the Monday following he sent a verbal message to the Chief Justice through the latter's moonshee, saying that he could not eat, drink, or bathe in the place where he was confined without losing his caste. The Chief Justice sent back the messenger to learn from him how he might be accommodated, to which Nuncomar made answer: "That the only accommodation consistent with his caste was, that he should live in a house in which no Christian or Mussulman had ever been, or should be admitted, and that he might be at liberty to wash once a day in the Ganges."

On being told that such indulgences were impossible, he continued to abstain from food, and sent a petition to Government setting forth the danger he was in of losing his caste, owing to his close confinement, although the jailer had given up two good rooms in his own quarters to him and his attendants, which were detached from the rest of the prison.

At a meeting of the Council on 9th May, 1775, General Clavering says:—"I acquaint the Board that I received a letter from Mr. Joseph Fouke, who is just come from visiting Maharajah Nuncomar, acquainting me that it is the opinion of the people who

* Mr. Beveridge: "Nanda Kumar," p. 31.

are about him that they do not think he can live another day without drink. He says his tongue is much parched, but that his spirit is firm. In the conversation that he had with the Rajah, the Rajah told him, "Don't trouble yourself about me; the will of Heaven must be complied with. I am innocent."

Government directed the Sheriff to wait on the Chief Justice, and represent to him the situation of the prisoner.

In answering this, Sir Elijah sent the opinions* of some pundits on this subject, who, having visited Nuncomar in confinement, declared that he could not perform his ablutions, nor eat where Christians or Mahommedans inhabited; but that, if he did so, he might be absolved by penance (prauschit). Against these opinions Nuncomar protested, and desired that other pundits might be consulted at Nuddea, who were of a higher caste and better informed. This favour having been denied him, he persisted in his resolution of dying rather than defile himself.

Translations of the opinions of the four Pundits, Kissen Jewan Surmah, Bannisser Surmah, Kissen Gopal Surmah, and Gouree Caunt Surmah, when questioned by Impey, Chambers, and Lemaistre at Impey's house.

If a Brahmin is confined, washes, eats, and drinks in a house where a Mussulman or others live, he must do the penance known by the name chundraeen, but as that species of penance lasts for one month[1] and as the men of this age have not strength for so long a penance, it has been altered, and instead of performing chundraeen the Brahmin must forfeit eight milch cows and their calves; but if it should so happen that the Brahmin is poor and unable to do this, he must pay thirty-eight cawns and seven puns of cowries[2]; having paid the Brahmins for the trouble they will have in his affair,[3] and having paid for the serraud, or cleansing cake,[4] and fed a cow, the Brahmin is purified.

The above penance is for one day, and the same penance must be performed for every day he remains in confinement.

A Brahmin who is confined within four walls of a prison in which Mussulmans and others live, and is permitted to inhabit a house not under the same roof with them, though within the walls, to perform his ablutions with water of the Ganges, and to eat and drink of things mixed with the water of that river, and who washes with and drinks of the water of the Ganges, when he is set at liberty will not lose his caste.

Explanation of the Pundits.

[1] In ancient times, when men lived to the age of one thousand years, then strength was proportionately greater, and they could fast a month or more without endangering their lives, or without considering it a very severe punishment.

[2] The price of a milch cow, with its calf, is from three to four rupees, and the value of the cowries is about eight rupees.

[3] Seldom amounts to above two rupees.

[4] The cake is not valued at more than six annas.

On Wednesday, the 10th of May, the Chief Justice sent Dr. Murchison (father of the late Sir Roderick) to see him, who doubted that he had been entirely without food since Saturday, but reported that if he had been without sustenance for the time above mentioned, it was necessary he should take some before the next morning. It was after this report apparently, that, according to the evidence of Matthew Yeandle, the jailer, the Chief Justice, on the night of the 10th, tried to get Lemaistre to consent to let the prisoner go outside the prison gate, but Lemaistre would not give his sanction. However, Yeandle was empowered by Impey (and by Hyde, it is presumed, as he too was present when the jailer came to the Chief Justice's house) to grant the permission. It may be inferred, I think, from the jailer's deposition on this subject, that this indulgence was only to be for once, and for the purpose of taking the sustenance suggested by Dr. Murchison. On Yeandle's hastening back with the permission about 10 o'clock at night, the prisoner did not then avail himself of it, but waited till between 10 and 12 o'clock next forenoon, when "he walked to the outside of the said prison without any assistance, and did not appear anyways exhausted, and had recovered his speech and talked in the same tone of voice he usually did."

Eventually a tent was pitched for him on the top of an outhouse within the prison walls. His counsel often visited him in prison, and believed "his mind was perfectly at ease on that subject" (accommodation). All his friends, too, had free access to him, amongst whom were the witnesses who afterwards appeared in his defence. He was also visited by the aide-de-camp and by the secretary to General Clavering, and by other Europeans (friends of "the majority")*, and messages of condolence were sent him by the ladies of General Clavering's household and by Lady Anne Monson. At no period of his incarceration was he ironed. His food consisted of sweetmeats for the most part.

The Criminal Sessions following the commitment of Nuncomar were opened on the 3rd of June, before the Chief Justice and the three puisne judges.

Pending the erection of a new court-house, on the Esplanade where its successor stands now, the sittings of the Supreme Court were at first held in the old Mayor's Court, on the site of the

* In the preceding month, when Nuncomar and Mr. Fouke were charged by Hastings with conspiracy, and the judges had seen cause sufficient for holding them to bail, the three new members of Council paid Nuncomar the compliment of a visit at his house.

present St. Andrew's Church. This was a somewhat spacious building, but consisting only of a ground floor and one storey; a long room in the latter was used for the conducting of trials, and also for the purposes usually served by public assembly rooms. This structure was pulled down in 1792.

There is no record of the cases which may have occupied the earlier days of the term; they were probably unimportant. *The King* v. *Nuncomar* was called on the 8th of June.

The following gentlemen composed the jury :—

John Robinson (*foreman*).	John Ferguson.
Edward Scott	Arthur Adie.
Robert Macfarlin.	John Collis.
Thomas Smith.	Samuel Touchet.
Edward Ellerington.	Edward Sutterthwaite.
Joseph Bernard Smith.	Charles Weston.

From an observation which the Chief Justice made in his charge, viz., "You have been resident long in the country, some I see who were born here," it may be inferred that at least two of the jury were Eurasians. It is unlikely that there were more, because a Native, owing perhaps to prejudice, would as a rule much prefer to entrust his interests to the pure European than to the Eurasian, and would have weeded out the latter element in his challenge. Mr. Weston was probably one of the gentlemen born in the country, but his well-known character for benevolence the most catholic, would have overcome such prejudice. Joseph Smith was at the time a "junior merchant" in the Civil Service. The prisoner had the privilege of challenging twenty on the panel; he exerted it in the cases of eighteen, reading their names out from a paper in his hand. Amongst those directed to stand aside were Richard Johnson (also in the Civil Service), Bernard Messink—who afterwards was connected with the *Indian Gazette*—and Tilly Kettle, the artist, who soon after took the Chief Justice's portrait. So far as intelligence goes there ought to have been no lack of it in the class whence the petty jury was drawn.

The name of the counsel for the Crown was Mr. Durham, for the defence Mr. Farrer (with him Mr. Brix). Farrer was the first advocate admitted by the Supreme Court; he had only arrived in India in the previous October. He made such good use of his time that he retired in less than four years with £60,000 (so says Price).

His purse would have been still fatter perhaps but for his gambling experience. Francis alludes to Barwell as "sitting up all night

winning Farrer's money." He afterwards sat in Parliament for Wareham. The *aliquid amari* in his lot was that his health never recovered the fatigue and anxiety of the Nuncomar trial. He was a close ally of Francis; this should be kept in mind should any bias appear in his evidence at the impeachment of Impey. Francis writes in his diary, "March, 1778, Farrer going to England; understands my cause there heartily."

After the jury had been sworn, an objection was made by Farrer, at the instigation of his client, to the gentleman who it was proposed should interpret during the trial "as being connected with persons whom the prisoner considered as his enemies."

This was Mr. Alexander Elliot, "eminently skilled in the Persian and Hindustani languages," an intimate friend both of the Governor-General and of the Chief Justice, and, strange to say, son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, who took so leading a part in the House of Commons on the motion for the impeachment of Impey thirteen years afterwards.* He could scarcely have been twenty years of age at this time.

Chief Justice.—The principal interpreter of the Court is absent. The gentlemen of the jury have heard the interpretation of the assistant interpreters on other occasions. Do you, gentlemen, think we shall be able to go through this cause with the assistance of those interpreters only?

Jury.—We are sure we shall not be able.

Chief Justice.—It is a cruel insinuation against the character of Mr. Elliot.

[Here Mr. Elliot begged he might decline interpreting.]

Chief Justice.—We must insist upon it that you interpret. You should be above giving way to the imputation. Your skill in the languages and your candour will show how little ground there is for it.

Counsel.—I hope Mr. Elliot doesn't think the objection came from me; it was suggested to me.

Chief Justice.—Who suggested it?

Counsel.—I am not authorized to name the person.

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* Young Elliot died early in India (1778). Hastings was much attached to him, and wrote some verses to his memory in imitation of Horace. Sir Gilbert, in writing to his wife (February, 1788) of Hastings at his impeachment, says, "I never saw Hastings till to-day, and had not formed anything like a just idea of him. I never saw a more miserable-looking creature, but indeed he has so much the appearance of bad health, that I do not suppose he resembles even himself. He looks as if he could not live a week. I always feel uncomfortable in the reflection of his connections with Allck, and I cannot say I was insensible to the idea of seeing him to-day."

The jury then, as well as the prisoner's counsel, begged that Mr. Elliot would act as interpreter.

When the prisoner was ordered to the bar to be arraigned, Farrer asked that he should not be put into the dock, but be allowed a place near his Counsel; nor that he should be obliged to hold up his hand, but be allowed to identify himself by declaring that he was the person arraigned. Both requests were refused.

He was arraigned and the indictment read. Then followed a deal of technical skirmishing where various legal points were raised and disposed of. The most important of these was a plea to the jurisdiction of the Court which was read. The Chief Justice gave a decided opinion against it, and was concurred with by Hyde and Lemaistre. Whether Justice Chambers said anything or not, Mr. Farrer (whose evidence before the impeachment committee is the authority) could not remember. This plea, however, was withdrawn for technical reasons, "more especially as the Court had so strongly intimated an opinion that if not withdrawn, but left to be formally decided against as upon a record, that in that case the defendant would be precluded from pleading over not guilty to the indictment."

Mr. Justice Chambers then called for the indictment; and after reading it said he had great doubts whether or not it was well laid, being for a capital felony on the 2nd George II.; that he conceived *that* act was particularly adapted to the local policy of England for commercial and other reasons; "that he thought the same reasons did not apply to the then state of Bengal" (*sic.* Calcutta?); "that it would be sufficient, and as far as the Court ought to go, to consider Bengal in its then state, as upon the same footing that England had been between the statute of 5th Elizabeth and that of 2nd George II."

"He therefore proposed from the Bench that that indictment should be quashed and that the prosecutor might be at liberty to prefer a new one." The Chief Justice and the other two judges were, however, of a contrary opinion, and considered that the trial ought to proceed.*

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* Impey at the bar of the House of Commons said that Chambers made this proposition more *in favorem vitæ* than from any sound reason in law; and added that he then understood that Chambers was convinced he was wrong by Impey's arguments; "he most certainly acquiesced; I never understood him to have been overruled, and his subsequent conduct, if any doubt could be entertained, proves most manifestly that he was not." Nevertheless, Chambers' open expression of opinion about the indictment made this strong impression

This interposition of one of the Judges anticipated a similar objection to the indictment which the defendant's advocates were prepared to make, and they thought it prudent to let it rest on the grounds which had been stated.

After some further sparring the prisoner was called on peremptorily to plead—"Mr. Justice Lemaistre adding, to the best of my recollection, under the pain of being considered as standing mute," —*i.e.*, under the pain of being convicted. He accordingly pleaded not guilty in due form. On the plea of not guilty being recorded, the prisoner was asked by whom he would be tried, to which he answered, "by God and his peers."

The Court asked whom the Rajah considered as his peers? His counsel said he must leave that to the Court.

Chief Justice: "A peer of Ireland tried in England would be tried by a common jury. The Charter directs that in all criminal prosecutions the prisoner should be tried by the inhabitants of the town of Calcutta being British subjects." The issue which the Court had to try was whether the jewels-bond* was genuine or not:

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on the prisoner's Counsel: "I thought at the time, and even until within a few days of the prisoner's execution, that this was a certain presage of his life being safe, let the event of the verdict be what it might, and such my opinion I repeatedly communicated both to the prisoner and to his friends, as well as to Mr. Monson, General Clavering, &c., &c." He also advised Nuncomar to arrange for sending a person to England "in case the verdict should be against him." There is a good deal in Farrer's evidence which suggests that he had no great confidence in his client's case.

* Some readers may be curious to see the wording of this document; it was written in Persian; the following translation may perhaps make more clear what has already been said about it, viz.:—

"I who am Bolaukee Doss.

"As a pearl necklace, a twisted kulgah, a twisted serpache (*i.e.*, turban ornaments) and four rings, two of which were of rubies and two of diamonds, were deposited by Rogonaut-Roy Geoo on account of Maharajah Nundocomar Bahadur, in the month of Assar in the Bengal year 1165 (1758) with me in my house at Moorshedabad, that the same might be sold; at the time of the defeat of the army of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Cossim Cawn, the money and effects of the house together with the aforesaid jewels were plundered and carried away. In the year 1172 Bengal style (1765) when I arrived in Calcutta, the aforesaid Maharajah demanded the before-mentioned deposit of jewels. I could not produce the deposit when demanded, and on account of the bad state of my affairs was unable to pay the value thereof. I therefore promise and give it in writing that when I shall receive back the sum of two lakhs of rupees and a little above, which is in the Company's cash at Dacca, according to the method of reckoning of the Company, I have agreed and settled, that the sum of forty-eight thousand and twenty-one sicca rupees is the principal of the amount of the said deposit of jewels which is justly due

its publication was not denied: if forged there could be no doubt that the prisoner knew it to be so.

The evidence on the part of the Crown purported to show that Bolaukee Doss not only did not execute the bond, but never owed the money, that its statements were all false and its attestations all forgeries, &c., &c.

The evidence for the defence, on the other hand, maintained that the whole business was genuine, and witnesses were produced who saw the deed executed, and who gave a detailed account of the transaction from their own personal knowledge, &c., &c. All these allegations involved a display of contradictory swearing which must have been startling to those whose experience had hitherto been limited to Western Courts of Law.

Were the Nuncomar case to be committed for trial before the High Court of Calcutta to-day, with all its facilities for enquiry, derived from the accumulated experience of an additional century of native litigation, the investigation would probably be considered an intricate one. It is no disparagement therefore to the Supreme Court to surmise what up-hill work it must have proved to the judges of 1775, who had been but a few months in the country and were unfamiliar with the customs and habits of thought and dealing of the people. To instance the accounts alone, which formed so prominent a feature in the case; how complicated and perplexing these must have seemed, as well as the strange documentary "exhibits" which, like the accounts, were in divers languages, and which, with every word of the evidence, had to be filtered to the understanding drop by drop through an interpreter.

An unusual disadvantage, too, at which the first judges of the Supreme Court were placed was this, that *all* were new;* there

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by me, and over and above that a premium of four annas upon every rupee. Upon the payment of the aforesaid sum from the Company's cash I will pay that sum without excuse and evasion to the said Maharajah. I have for the above reasons given these words in the form of a bond under my signature, that when it is necessary it may be carried into execution.

"Written on the seventh day of the month Bhadoon in the Bengal year 1172 (20th August, 1765).

"It is witnessed—
"MAHAB ROY.
"SCILAUBUT, the Vakeel of Seat-Bolaukee Doss.
"ABDEHOO-COMMAUL MAHOMED."

ALABD (this word, literally slave, denotes that the bond was sealed by Bolaukee.)
BOLAUKEE DOSS.

(Copied from Mr. Beveridge's Nanda Kumar.)

* Indeed, the Members of the Court were not only new to India, but to their functions as judges. Their only practical experience as such, with a jury,

was no member of the tribunal of longer or of local experience, who could show a friendly light to his brother; each had to cautiously grope his way. And this difficulty was intensified when it became manifest to them, as it soon did, that the counsel for the Crown was a broken reed to lean on, for Mr. Durham (in spite of his prenomen being Hercules) was unequal to the labour of the prosecution, especially that of cross-examination. Accordingly, the judges (Chambers excepted) took this duty on themselves, and carried it out in prodigious detail, recalling witnesses over and over again. Added to all this, there must have been very present to them the consciousness that, they were conducting this capital trial under the eyes, it may be said, of a critical and hostile audience, in the shape of the prisoner's influential supporters in the Government, and that all the patience and temper which they could command were needed.

Readers in India will be able to appreciate the remark that the physical surroundings were not over favourable to a command of the judicial virtues which it was so desirable to have in hand.

The trial commenced on the 8th of June, and went on for eight days, the intervening Sunday included. The Court, as was then the rule, made no adjournment, but one of the judges, at least, always remained in the Court, or in a room adjoining and open to it. The jury retired to another adjoining room (under charge of the Sheriff's officers) to take refreshment or sleep.

The Court sat each day from eight in the morning till late at night. The verdict was not given till four o'clock in the morning of the 16th.

On each of those days the temperature at that season of the year, in that crowded room, must have stood for several hours between 92° and 98° Fahr. The thirst produced by such heat had (while on the bench, at all events) to be endured; or, as a perilous alternative, to be assuaged by a bumper of tepid water from the common tank in "Lall Diggee," whose reputation was by no means unstained. Ice, there was none; in those heroic times people had to pant through the hot days and hotter nights without it; or, worse still, without swinging punkas. Possibly standing behind the judges' chairs were a bearer or two lazily waving fans of pea-

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was in the cases that may have come before them during this or possibly a preceding session. There was a formal assize opened at the end of the previous year, but Farrer said no business was done. It would probably be correct to say that Nuncomar's case was the first important criminal one which came before this Bench or any member of it for decision.

cocks' feathers, partly with the object of contributing to an imposing ceremonial; but the comfort derivable from this must have been very equivocal. In fact, the judges arrayed in their red robes and heavy wigs (rather than abandon which, in those brave old days, they would have undergone dissolution) must have been in a most distressing condition, from their heads to their trickling fingers. None but those who have had the privilege of living inside the Calcutta ditch during the month of June, can feelingly understand what an awful experience this prolonged trial must have been to all engaged in it at such a time, *i.e.*, the heavy sultry week just before the rains. It is suggestive that the one memory of the Nuncomar trial, which Calcutta tradition has not let die, is that of the four judges solemnly retiring "three or four times daily to change their linen."

On the second day, counsel for the prisoner informed the Court that the Maharajah had been taken ill in the night, which rendered him incapable of taking his trial. The Court desired Drs. Anderson and Williams to examine the prisoner, which they did, and reported that he had now "neither flux nor fever, and was very capable of taking his trial."

When the case for the defence had been going on for some time a curious circumstance occurred, owing to the severe cross-examination to which the prisoner's witnesses were submitted by the judges.

Nuncomar begged permission to be allowed to leave the dock and speak in private with his counsel. Accordingly he and Farrer retired to the end of the Court-room. Neither could understand the language of the other, so an interpreter had to be made use of. The old man warmly thanked his advocate for the pains he had taken to save him, and said he was convinced that his exertions would be fruitless, as the Court were decidedly his enemies. He grounded his belief of this, on the difference between the treatment shown by them to his witnesses and to those for the prosecution. He concluded with an expression of his intention to give no further trouble, but submit at once to his fate. Farrer strongly dissuaded him from those ideas, and assured him that the Court would do him justice; but as the treatment he spoke of made such an impression on him, that he (Farrer) would seek a means of communicating his apprehension to the judges, and would tell him with what result later on.

Immediately after his own dinner that day, Farrer, with much reluctance, sought an interview with the Judges in the room where

they were dining, and with their permission told them what had passed between him and his client. The Judges explained why they thought this examination necessary (*i.e.*, the inefficiency of the Crown prosecutor to cross-examine the witnesses for the defence, as sufficiently as Farrer had cross-examined those for the prosecution). Mr. Justice Chambers said nothing before the other Judges, but when he and Farrer were alone, he told him that his communication gave him great uneasiness; and he particularly desired the advocate to tell the prisoner from him, that every question he should put to his witnesses would be as much in support of them as against them,* and that he would put as few as possible. Farrer conveyed this message, and tried to relieve his client's mind as well as he could.

So the wearisome trial plodded on for four or five days more. The cross-examination by the Judges was longer and more rigid than ever—Lemaistre and Hyde taking a more conspicuous part in it than the Chief Justice.

At length, about midnight of Thursday, the 15th, the counsel for the defence closed his evidence. Then an incident occurred pregnant with warning to all prisoners and captives who may venture to take in hand such a double-edged tool as "evidence." The Court were informed that Nuncomar had something to say. He desired that one of his own witnesses should be re-called and questioned as to a "karar-nama" (a written statement of account); with what result we shall see.

When he had closed his case, Farrer, utterly exhausted, quitted the court and went home to bed, and the Chief Justice began his summing up in the early morning of the 16th.

One can fancy the scene now arrived at in that muggy, oil-lighted court-room. The motley standing crowd, the outside portion of it, unable to hear, let alone to follow, the drama going on, many of them no doubt more than half-asleep, till roused by some vague intelligence that the denouement was coming; but asleep or awake determined to await, with the patience of the Hindoo, the fall of the curtain.

By an exceedingly hard rule then in force, counsel for a prisoner

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* If Chambers' message to the prisoner can be understood as at all implying that the other Judges did not observe this even-handed conduct in their cross-examination, it would be impossible to withhold sympathy from Nuncomar's expressed apprehensions to his counsel. But Farrer nowhere challenges the fairness of the judges' questions.

charged with felony could not address the jury.* The Court, however, allowed the prisoner's counsel to hand up any points or observations which they desired to make, and undertook to read them to the jury. This concession, such as it was, the counsel availed themselves of. They were also told by the Bench that if Nuncomar desired to urge anything in his own defence it would be interpreted. But he said nothing.

Very different opinions have been expressed about the Chief Justice's summing up. In the article of impeachment against Impey, drawn up thirteen years afterwards, it is described as characterised by "gross and scandalous partiality." It seems to have displeased some, by what is not in it, as much as by what is in it. It would be inconsistent with the object of this sketch of the trial to give the charge here, but readers may form some idea of the impression likely to be made on the jury by this the concluding portion of it.

"There is certainly a great improbability that a man of Maharajah Nuncomar's rank and fortune† should be guilty of so mean an offence for so small a sum of money. It is more improbable, as he is proved to have patronised and behaved with great kindness to Ballakey Doss in his lifetime, that he should immediately after his decease plunder the widow and relations of his friend. There does likewise appear to have been a suit in the Adalat, which must have been a civil suit; but it does not indeed appear that Mohun Persaud was a party; and, indeed, for what reason I know not, neither side thought fit to produce the proceedings.

"I have made such observations on the evidence as the bulk of it,

* Sir J. Stephen condemns the essential badness of this rule, and says it was a pity the Court did not hold that it did not apply to India. Allowance must be made, however, he adds, for the influence of technical rules over professional men. Even the small relaxation allowed was a point strained in the prisoner's favour. This detestable rule lasted long enough into the present century (1837) to be denounced by Sydney Smith in these scathing words: "When the prisoner says to the judge that 'he leaves his defence to his counsel;' we have often blushed for English humanity to hear the reply, 'Your counsel cannot speak for you; you must speak for yourself.' And this is the reply given to a poor girl of eighteen, to a foreigner, to a deaf man, to a stammerer, to the sick, to the feeble, to the old, to the most abject and ignorant of human beings. It is a reply, we must say, at which common sense and common feeling revolts, for it is full of brutal cruelty, of base inattention of those who make laws, to the happiness of those for whom laws were made. We wonder that any juryman can convict under such a shocking violation of all natural justice.'

† The Mahommedan contemporary historian chronicles a report that Nuncomar's estate amounted to fifty-two lakhs in money, and as much more in other property.

and the few minutes I had to recollect myself, would allow me to make. You will consider the whole with that candour, impartiality, and attention which have been so visible in every one of you during the many days you have sat on this cause. You will consider on which side the weight of evidence lies; always remembering that, in criminal, and more especially in capital cases, you must not weigh the evidence in golden scales; there ought to be a great difference of weight in the opposite scale before you find the prisoner guilty. In cases of property the stake on each side is equal, and the least preponderance of evidence ought to turn the scale; but in a capital case, as there can be nothing of equal value to life, you should be thoroughly convinced that there does not remain a possibility of innocence before you give your verdict against the prisoner.

"The nature of the defence is such that if it is not believed it must prove fatal to the party, for if you do not believe it you determine that it is supported by perjury, and that of an aggravated kind, as it attempts to fix perjury and subornation of perjury on the prosecutor and his witnesses.

"You will again and again consider the character of the prosecutor and his witnesses,—the distance of the prosecution from the time the offence is supposed to be committed,—the proof and nature of the confessions said to be made by the prisoner,—his rank and fortune. These are all reasons to prevent you giving a hasty and precipitate belief to the charge brought against him; but if you believe the facts sworn against him to be true, they cannot alter the nature of the facts themselves. Your sense of justice and your own feelings will not allow you to convict the prisoner unless your consciences are fully satisfied beyond all doubt of his guilt. If they are not, you will bring in that verdict which, from the dictates of humanity, you will be inclined to give. But, should your consciences be thoroughly convinced of his being guilty, no consideration, I am sure, will prevail on you not to give a verdict according to your oaths."

At four o'clock the same morning Jarrett, the prisoner's attorney, went to Farrer's bedside and woke him up, to tell him that the jury had just brought in a verdict of guilty. And when the beaten advocate dragged himself out of bed some hours later in the morning, he found on his table this note from his junior:—

"Dear Sir,—It is with infinite concern I communicate to you what you may probably have already heard from Messrs. Jarrett and Foxcroft, that the Rajah hath not only been found guilty, but Mr. Durham, on behalf of the prosecutor, hath undertaken to prosecute Mir Asad Ali, Sheikh Yar Mahomed, and Kissen Juan Dass, for perjury at the instance of the Court. How unlucky is the Rajah to have brought this misfortune upon himself by desiring the last examination of Juan Dass, which hath overset all the weight of his former evidence. Sir Elijah, in summing up the evidence, observed that having proved from the first moment of his examination till the time the evidence was

closed a fair and candid witness, he would have directed the jury to find him not guilty, as he looked upon the existence of the corornama clearly proved by him till the moment he prevaricated in his examination after the evidence was closed. I enclose the notes you gave Sir Elijah, of which, as well as of mine, he made use; after having taken some rest, which I am much in want of, not having slept more than two hours since three o'clock yesterday morning, I will wait on you to consult what steps are necessary to be taken, in which I will with pleasure afford you every assistance in my power, as I really pity the old man's case.

"I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,

"Friday morning. "C. F. BRIX."

The advocates in the next few days devised every scheme they could think of, which offered a chance of saving the prisoner's life. These, in the first instance, took the form of applications to the Court on technical grounds.

A week after the verdict a motion in arrest of judgment was made by Farrer, "though still being very ill," before the full Bench. Each Judge gave his opinion against the arguments put forward. Chambers spoke last; the conclusion of the note of what he said, taken down by Farrer, reading thus: "That was he alone to pass sentence, doubts would still remain in his mind as to the indictments (?) capital."* Farrer's next note on this day's

* Copied from Farrer's evidence in Beveridge's "Nanda Kumar": the hiatus is provoking. It is but fair to mention that Farrer's memory is not supported by what Impey himself said in Farrer's presence at the bar of the Commons. "He (Chambers) not only sat through the whole trial, but concurred in over-ruling every objection in arrest of judgment, assented to the summing-up of the evidence, was present and concurred in the sentence." Then he read a letter which all the judges had signed asserting their unanimity, "Whatever representation may be made to the contrary." On the day of the execution Justice Chambers officiously wrote to Impey, advising that the "malefactor's" goods should be seized by the sheriff; this "ought not, I think, be delayed a minute." Some years afterwards he judicially held that the statute under which Nuncomar was convicted did not apply to Calcutta. If he was believed to have really concurred in the sentence on Nuncomar, the hardihood and indecency of Francis in writing as follows to him, twelve years after, were astounding: "Impey's going to Lucknow to take those depositions is the blackest and basest transaction, except one, that has yet dishonoured the British administration in India." The "*except one*" can only refer to the Nuncomar trial—and this up to the face of the judge who wrote that he concurred in it all!! "Limber" and "Sir Viner Pliant" were the appropriate nicknames under which this weak-kneed judge went in vulgar Calcutta. Some very indifferent lines by Mrs. Thrale on Chambers' portrait (by Reynolds) at Streatham have this suggestive beginning:—

"In this luminous portrait requiring no shade
See Chambers' soft character sweetly displayed," &c.

proceeding is, "Sentence per Chief Justice—a definitive sentence —must not expect mercy—death."

In those days the warrant for execution was a copy of the calendar (or list of cases tried at the assize) signed by the Judges and handed to the sheriff. The calendar, in this instance, does not appear to have been signed before the 24th July. The Court appointed no time for the execution; this was left to the discretion of the sheriff. Saturday, the 5th of August, was the date fixed on. Then various petitions for respite to admit of an appeal to the clemency of the King in England were proposed; these were to be from several sources. Some, though prepared, fell to the ground; amongst these was one which was to have reached the Judges through the Council; this died at its birth, owing to Clavering and Monson declining to have anything to do with it, though Francis approved of the measure. Some did reach the Judges, and included one from the condemned man himself; one from some of the native inhabitants; and one from the Nawab of Bengal. All were unsuccessful. No movement in the prisoner's favour was made by the European community.

An incident connected with the getting up of one petition is worth recalling.

On a former occasion, in 1765, a native named Radachurn Mittre had been tried in Calcutta for forgery under the statute made applicable to Nuncomar's case, and sentenced to death, and "ordered into the condemned hole." A petition was sent in to Governor Spencer from the native community of Calcutta, asking either a reversal of the sentence, or a respite pending an application to the throne.

The petition pointed out, amongst other reasons for this, that the jury had recommended the prisoner to mercy. The prayer was granted, and Radachurn Mittre got a free pardon from the King.

Farrer now prepared a petition to the Judges for the signature of the jury, praying for a stay of execution and a recommendation to the sovereign for mercy, pleading "the very advanced age of the unfortunate criminal," &c., &c. This he sent to the foreman of the jury on the last day of July.* That individual returned a

* On this same day, 31st July, Nuncomar wrote a letter to Francis imploring his interposition in his behalf. It is signed "Nundcoomar," and is marked in Francis' letter-book "a translate from the Bengal original." The ungrammatical English of the translation seems to make the appeal all the more piteous. One sentence, which has a Scriptural tone, is, "I am now

pompous platitude about "a British juryman's oath," which had no connection whatever with what he was asked to do. Farrer explained the position to him in a clear, manly note, adding "suffice it for me, in compliance with the earnest solicitation of an unhappy victim, to have acquitted myself to my own feelings in having made the application; you will judge and act for yourself." The rejoinder that the juryman (his name was John Robinson—it is difficult to allude to him with becoming forbearance) made to this, was an hysterical whine about his "conscience" and his "tender feelings," which were "very much hurt," &c., &c. Into his note he drags "the veneration I have for the Bench of Judges," and then sends the correspondence up to the Chief Justice. This he effected through a Mr. Belli, who, in a covering note, remarks that "the word victim in Mr. Farrer's address is very remarkable. This business gives Mr. Robinson much uneasiness, and he hopes Sir Elijah will permit him to make a complaint to him if Mr. Farrer persists in his solicitations."

When Farrer next appeared in court, the Chief Justice administered to him a severe reprimand, and told him his conduct was derogatory to his professional character; that no advocate in England, who had a proper regard for the dignity of the Court, would have so acted. Juries must be protected from improper application to them. What did he mean by "unhappy victim?"

Farrer gave the respectful explanation, which, it is to be hoped, would have satisfied most judges, "but the Chief Justice still seemed to dwell on the expression 'unhappy victim'"; but Mr. Justice Chambers, I think, interposing, the matter ended there."

Eventually this frustrated petition found its way back to the hands that drew it up. One man alone out of the twelve "drew near the nature of the gods in being merciful," and came to Farrer's house, though he did not know him, and signed it there. Amongst the Parliamentary papers connected with the Nuncomar case the petition may be seen in print; at the foot of it is the name "Edward Ellerington."*

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thinking that I have but a short time to live, for among the English gentry, Armenians, Moores, and Gentoos, few there is who is not against me, but those that are not for me is continually devising all the mischief they can imagine against me."

* I believe it was in Mr. Beveridge's article on Warren Hastings in the *Calcutta Review*, some years ago, that I first read about this proposed petition from the jury. Ever since, whenever I happened to be turning over old records or newspapers in Calcutta, I kept a look-out for this honourable name, in the hope of finding some clue as to who or what its owner was; but I never

While these petitions were getting but few signatures, and no success, there was a canvass made for signatures to representations of another kind, which was highly successful, viz., addresses expressive of confidence and satisfaction were tendered to the Chief Justice and to the Supreme Court by various sections of the community. One of these (presented to the Chief Justice himself) is from "the free merchants, free mariners, and other inhabitants." The little adjective is singularly inappropriate in this respect, that the address is remarkable for its servility. It can find no more suitable ground for praise and thanksgiving, than the pains he "bestowed, during the late trial, in patiently investigating the evidence." It extols him, too, for "repressing the spirit of litigiousness, and the chicanery, and quirks of practitioners." At the head of the names of the eighty-four inflated persons who signed this imprudent panegyric, stand those of Playdell, the Superintendent of Police, and Robinson, the foreman of the jury. The Grand Jury paid similar homage; so did forty-three Armenians. Nor were the natives (Hindoos of good position, too) behindhand with their meed of honeyed praise; in an address with a hundred signatures they asked the Court to believe that "confidence and joy sprang up in our hearts, and we are thoroughly convinced that the country will prosper, the bad be punished and the good be cherished."* It would have been more decent if these representative bodies had repressed their overflowing gratitude, if only for a few days. The Chief Justice, however, complacently received and replied to all, and gratified the "free" admirers by consenting to sit for his portrait for the town-hall.

While these *dramatis personæ* were thus bandying compliments the Hamlet of the play was lying in jail awaiting his execution.

Where was Nuncomar hanged? If there were an indisputable foundation of fact for Macaulay's account of the profound veneration manifested for the prisoner's hereditary and religious dignities (apart from that attaching to his great wealth and former influential position), one might suppose that, among a people so eminently

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succeeded. Once I met with an announcement that the "house of the late Edward Ellerington" was to be sold (1780). I could find no local record of his death. Whoever he was, he wore "nobility's true badge."

* Farrer told a committee of the House of Commons (1781) that he believed several of the addresses presented by the natives were "the effects of influence and fear." This is somewhat obscure: fear of whom? Presumably of the judges, whom the natives therefore thought it prudent to conciliate beforehand with hypocritical adulation.

conservative as the Hindoos, some trustworthy information would be forthcoming as to the exact locality where so deplorable a shock to their religious feelings was inflicted. One might reasonably fancy that the terrible story would have been handed down between the three or four intervening generations so faithfully, that even the very spot could be pointed out where the life of him who was "the head of their race and religion," who "had inherited the purest and highest caste," had been so degradingly taken. Yet it is far otherwise. Frequent enquiries in Calcutta, amongst natives of every creed and condition, reluctantly led me to the conclusion that there does not exist in native Calcutta to-day, any tangible tradition as to the identity of the place where this "Brahmin of the Brahmins" was put to death.

Certain circumstances, however, which are beyond dispute, render it all but certain that the place assigned to the execution by the Rev. J. Long in an old number of the *Calcutta Review* is correct—viz., in "Cooly Bazaar, close to Hastings' Bridge—a platform being erected for the purpose." In a Calcutta newspaper of 1793 it is incidentally mentioned that "near the Cooly Bazaar" was the usual place of execution. It is in evidence, too, that the execution of Nuncomar was visible from the ramparts of the New Fort. Captain Price, who was in Calcutta at the time, says that it was to the *County* jail that Nuncomar was committed, so referred to, I suppose, as being outside the ditch. The jail in question would be that on the site of the present Calcutta jail, and so in the direction of Cooly Bazaar.

The following is the account of the execution written by Alexander Macrabie, the sheriff, whose distasteful duty it was to see it carried out:—

"Hearing that some persons had supposed Maharajah Nuncomar would make an address to the people at his execution, I have committed to writing the following minutes of what passed both on that occasion, and also upon my paying him a visit in prison the preceding evening, while both are fresh in my remembrance.

"Friday evening, the 4th of August. Upon my entering his apartments in the jail, he arose and saluted me in his usual manner. After we were both seated, he spoke with great ease and such seeming unconcern that I really doubted whether he was sensible of his approching fate. I therefore bid the interpreter inform him that I was come to show him this last mark of respect, and to assure him that every attention should be given the next morning which could afford him comfort on so melancholy an occasion; that I was deeply concerned that the duties of my office made me of necessity a party in it,

but that I would attend to the last to see that every desire that he had should be gratified; that his own palanquin and his own servants should attend him; and that such of his friends who, I understood, were to be present should be protected.

"He replied that he was obliged to me for this visit; that he thanked me for all my favours, and entreated me to continue it to his family; that fate was not to be resisted, and put his finger to his forehead—'God's will' must be done. He desired that I would present his respects and compliments to the General, Colonel Monsoon and Mr. Francis, and pray for their protection of Rajah Gourdass; that they would please to look upon him now as the head of the Brahmins. His composure was wonderful; not a sigh escaped him; nor the smallest alteration of voice or countenance, though I understood he had not many hours before taken a solemn leave of his son-in-law, Roy Radicum. I found myself so much second to him in firmness, that I could stay no longer. Going downstairs, the jailer informed me that, since the departure of his friends, he had been writing notes and looking at accounts in his usual way. I began now to apprehend that he had taken his resolution and fully expected that he would be found dead in the morning; but on Saturday, the 5th, at seven, I was informed that everything was in readiness at the jail for the execution I came here about half an hour past seven. The howlings and lamentations of the poor wretched people who were taking their last leave of him are not to be described. I have hardly recovered the first shock while I write this about three hours afterwards. As soon as he heard I was arrived he came down into the yard and joined me in the jailer's apartment.

"There was no lingering about him, no affected delay. He came cheerfully into the room, made the usual salaam, but would not sit till I took a chair near him. Seeing somebody look at a watch, he got up and said he was ready, and immediately turning to three Brahmins who were to attend and take care of his body, he embraced them all closely, but without the least mark of melancholy or depression on his part, while they were in agonies of grief and despair. I then looked at my own watch, told him the hour I had mentioned was not arrived, that it wanted above a quarter of eight, but that I should wait his own time, and that I would not rise from my seat without a motion from him. Upon its being recommended to him that at the place of execution he would give some signal when he had done with the world, he said he would speak. We sat about an hour longer, during which he addressed himself more than once to me; mentioned Rajah Gourdass, the General, Colonel Monson, Mr. Francis, but without any seeming anxiety; the rest of the time I believe he passed in prayer, his lips and tongue moving and his beads hanging upon his hand. He then looked to me and arose, spoke to some of the servants of the jail, telling them that anything he might have omitted Rajah Gourdass would take care of, then walked cheerfully to the gate and seated himself in his palanquin, looking around him with perfect unconcern. As the Deputy Sheriff and I followed, we could make no observation

upon his deportment till we all arrived at the place of execution. The crowd there was very great, but not the least appearance of a riot. The Rajah sat in his palanquin upon the bearers' shoulders and looked around at first with some attention. I did not observe the smallest decomposure in his countenance or manner at the sight of the gallows or any of the ceremonies passing about it. He asked for the Brahmins who were not come, and showed some earnestness as if he apprehended the execution might take place before their arrival. I took that opportunity of assuring him I would wait his own time; it was early in the day and there was no hurry. The Brahmins soon after appearing, I offered to remove the officers, thinking that he might have something to say in private: but he made a motion not to do it, and said he had only a few words to remind them of what he had said concerning Rajah Gourdass and the care of his zenana. He spoke to me and desired that the men might be taken care of, as they were to take charge of his body, which he desired repeatedly might not be touched by any of the bystanders; but he seemed not in the least alarmed or discomposed at the crowd around him. There was some delay in the necessary preparations and from the awkwardness of the people. He was no way desirous of protracting the business, but repeatedly told me he was ready. Upon my asking him if he had any more friends he wished to see, he answered he had many, but this was not a place, nor an occasion, to look for them. Did he apprehend there might be any present who could not get up for the crowd? He mentioned one, whose name was called, but he immediately said, 'It was of no consequence! probably he had not come.' He then desired me to remember him to General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Francis, and looked with the greatest composure. When he was not engaged in conversation he lay back in the palanquin, moving his lips and tongue as before.

"I then caused him to be asked about the signal he was to make, which could not be done by speaking, on account of the noise of the crowd. He said he would make a motion with his hand; and when it was represented to him that it would be necessary for his hands to be tied in order to prevent any involuntary motion, and I recommended his making a motion with his foot, he said he would. Nothing now remained except the last painful ceremony. I ordered his palanquin to be brought close under the gallows, but he chose to walk, which he did more erect than I have generally seen him. At the foot of the steps which led to the stage he put his hands behind him to be tied with a handkerchief, looking around at the same time with the utmost unconcern. Some difficulties arising about the cloth which should be tied over his face, he told the people that it must not be done by one of us. I presented to him a subaltern sepoy officer, who is a Brahmin, and came forward with a handkerchief in his hand! but the Rajah pointed to a servant of his own, who was lying prostrate at his feet, and beckoned him to do it. He had some weakness in his feet, which, added to the confinement of his hands, made him mount the steps with

difficulty; but he showed not the least reluctance, scrambling rather forward to get up. He then stood erect on the stage, while I examined his countenance as steadfastly as I could till the cloth covered it, to see if I could observe the smallest symptom of fear or alarm, but there was not a trace of it. My own spirits sank, and I stept into my palanquin; but before I was seated he had given the signal, and the stage was removed. I could observe, when I was a little recovered, that his arms lay back in the same position in which I saw them first tied; nor could I see any contortion on that side of his mouth and face which was visible. In a word, his steadiness, composure, and resolution throughout the whole of this melancholy transaction were equal to any examples of fortitude I have ever read or heard of. The body was taken down after hanging the usual time, and delivered to the Brahmins for burning."

This account was read thirteen years afterwards by Sir Gilbert Elliot in the House of Commons (when he moved for the impeachment of Impey), who then added:—

"While this tragedy was acting, the surrounding multitudes were agitated with grief, fear, and suspense. With a kind of superstitious incredulity, they could not believe that it was really intended to put the Rajah to death; but when they saw him tied up, and the scaffold drop from under him, they set up an universal yell, and with the most piercing cries of horror and dismay betook themselves to flight, running many of them as far as the Ganges" (which they were at already), "and plunging into the water, as if to hide themselves from such tyranny as they had witnessed, or to wash away the pollution contracted from viewing such a spectacle."

The foundation, if it deserves to be so called, for this peroration, which was skilfully followed by Macaulay, was derived from the evidence of a witness before the Parliamentary Committee, a Captain Cowe, who saw the execution "from the parapet of the New Fort, not quite half a mile away," and who said that "there were eight or ten thousand people assembled, who, the moment the Rajah was turned off, dispersed suddenly, crying, 'Ah baup-aree,'" and that "many of them even ran into the river from the terror of seeing a Brahmin executed." The Committee did not, apparently, ask this witness how he heard the words he testified to if he was half a mile off. He explained "Ah baup-aree" to be "an exclamation of the black people upon the appearance of anything very alarming and when they are in great pain." The Parliamentary orator, however, preferred to translate it into "universal yell, with the most piercing cries of horror and dismay." Macaulay, it may be remarked, converted the modest "many of them" of the eye-witness into "hundreds."

Captain Price, who was also examined before the same Committee, did not at all approve of the false impression likely to be conveyed by this evidence of Captain Cowe, and accordingly proceeded to demolish it in his usual downright fashion. He wrote to Edmund Burke that Captain Cowe's statement "deserves no credit at all; he had no knowledge of the customs or manners of the people, having himself been bred in the navy and came to Bengal a very little while before the majority." He then gave his own explanation as follows:—

"The exclamation, 'Au-baup-a-ree,' and the saying the people ran into the river on the Rajah's being turned off, convey improper notions to the mind of the reader. . . The fact is as follows: had a calf been knocked on the head they would have done the same; the exclamation cannot be rendered into English, the idioms of the languages are so very different; but if a Hindoo was to see a house on fire, to receive a smart slap on the face, break a china bason, cut his finger, see two Europeans boxing, or a sparrow shot, he would call out, 'Au-baup-a-ree.' When the Rajah was hanged it was to them a very extraordinary sight, and it was natural for Hindoos to suppose that it in some degree defiled them. The remedy was at hand; near to the gallows where the Rajah suffered runs a branch of the river Ganges, the waters of which river, in the idea of all the Hindoo nation, cleanse them from every kind of impurity. Had a common pickpocket suffered, had a European spit by accident on the outer edge of their outer garment, had they touched any dead animal, or fifty thousand other the most trifling causes would have induced them to go and purify themselves in the Ganges. At all hours of the day and night, at all seasons of the year, thousands of them are seen, men, women, and children, mingled together indiscriminately dabbling in the river, to purge away the impurities of body, soul, and garment at the same instant and by the same means."

We all know that any large city will vomit forth its riff-raff in thousands to enjoy an execution; such people have no delicate sensibilities to be wounded; morbid curiosity is their motive. This observation applies to the East as well as to the West. I fancy that respectable and religious Hindoos kept away then as they do now from such debasing spectacles. "I have many more friends," answered Nuncomar to the Sheriff at the foot of the scaffold, "but this is not a place, nor an occasion to look for them."

A few words may be said in personal relation to each of the four judges who conducted this historical trial, though the materials to admit of this are scanty.

Stephen Cæsar Lemaistre—to begin with the one who died first

—would seem to have been a protegé of the licentious Lord Sandwich.* Impey writes of him as being "violent beyond measure," and (with Hyde) "in direct opposition to me in everything." Francis hints that Hastings was well disposed to Lemaistre. He appears to have been a convivial man and to have for some time joined the high play indulged in by Francis and others. His house in Calcutta was on the site of the present school in Free-School Street. Lemaistre died in November, 1777, and was buried in South Park Street Cemetery; his tomb never had an inscription; it is one of two east of, and near to, that of General Clavering, which it resembles in shape.

The vacancy in the Supreme Court caused by Lemaistre's death was eventually filled by Sir Wm. Jones.

If Impey had a difficult colleague to pull with in Lemaistre, he had a still more difficult one in Hyde. "He is even abusive on the bench, which I have never been provoked to reply to," writes Impey to Dunning; and to Thurlow he complains, "For the conduct of Lemaistre I cannot account. As for Hyde, I much fear the return of the old disorder, but it is too delicate a matter to touch upon. He is absolutely under the management of Lemaistre. What you said to me concerning Hyde frequently occurs to me. He is an honest man, but is a great coxcomb. His tongue cannot be kept still, and he has more parade and pomp than I have yet seen in the East. I write this to you in confidence and beg it may not be mentioned, except to Dunning." The little weakness for parade in his brother thus remarked on by the Chief Justice is exemplified in this entry in Hyde's own note-book:—

"4th Term.

"Monday, 25th October, 1779.

"*Present:*

"Mr. Justice Hyde.

"I came to the Court in my Scarlet Robe to-day, because it is the day of the King's accession, and is therefore treated by the Courts of Law in England as a Gala day, to appear in their finest cloaths, and I think it proper, most particularly in this place, that all manner of tokens of respect to His Majesty should be shown, and especially by those who have the honour of holding offices

* Though a Secretary of State and Lord of the Admiralty, this nobleman is, perhaps, best known to fame as the protector of Miss Reay, whom Parson Hackman shot through jealousy outside Covent Garden Theatre in 1779.

under His Majesty's authority on his appointment. All signs of loyalty to the King of England are too much neglected in this country. I believe they did not even fire a salute at the Fort, which is a shameful neglect, if it is not worse—a designed disrespect."

Mrs. Fay, writing from Calcutta in 1780, says that on the first day of every term * the professional gentlemen all met at a public breakfast at Mr. Justice Hyde's house, and went thence in procession to the Court House." Fortunately, the procession had not far to go, as Hyde lived next to the Supreme Court, in a house on the site of the present Town Hall, for which he is said to have paid twelve hundred rupees a month. Hyde was a married man and a great favourite in social life, where his hospitality was genuine. He died in harness (aged 59) after twenty-one years' uninterrupted service, handsomely acknowledged in a Government notification which also referred to the virtues of his private character. He was buried (July, 1796) in South Park Street Cemetery. The tablet on his tomb records his "boundless benevolence," and speaks of him as "a model of unexampled, yet cautiously concealed charity." Nevertheless, the tomb of this first parent of the High Court in India has been allowed to become a model of neglect, neither unexampled nor concealed, I am sorry to say, in the cemeteries of Calcutta.

"Chambers supports me and behaves handsomely to me," is what Impey writes when giving his confidence to Dunning regarding the puisne judges.

Chambers was the only one of the first four judges who may be said to have had an English reputation prior to coming to India. He was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and was educated with the future luminaries, Lords Stowell and Eldon. He was a member of University College, Oxford, and Vinerian Professor of Law. He had the distinction, too, of being a friend of Johnson's, and, as a member of the literary club, of Burke and Reynolds, &c. Johnson was very fond of Chambers, as may be seen in the frequent references to him in Boswell. It was in Chambers' rooms in the Temple that occurred the scene which Boswell tells with such humour, on coming out from which the great man was in such convulsions of laughter that he was obliged to lay hold of one of the posts near the foot pavement at the Temple Gate, "whence he sent

* A few years later a Calcutta paper chronicles another fashion connected with the opening of term which has fallen out of use, viz that "many ladies of distinction attended while Sir Wm Jones was charging the Grand Jury."

forth peals so loud that in the silence of the night his voice seemed to resound from Temple Bar to Fleet Street." "I then accompanied him to his own door," writes his faithful satellite, "where he gave me his blessing." When Johnson was setting out to join Boswell for their journey to the Hebrides, Chambers went with him as far as Newcastle. When Chambers sailed for India the fact was communicated to Boswell in a letter which alone should confer immortality on Chambers' name, as it there happened to be linked with that of one who, as a minstrel and as a man, is familiarly loved wherever English is spoken, "whose sweet and friendly nature bloomed kindly always in the midst of a life's storm and rain and bitter weather." The passage has been often quoted as exemplifying what Thackeray refers to as "the great wise benevolence and noble mercifulness of heart" of Johnson, but let me honour this page by quoting it once again. "Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense—but let not his failings be remembered; he was a very great man."

Chambers was the bearer to Calcutta of a letter of introduction from Johnson to Warren Hastings, the original of which is now amongst the select manuscripts in the British Museum. Macaulay alludes to this circumstance, saying how "the old philosopher referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short, but agreeable intercourse" when Hastings had been last in England. Macaulay does not mention the ostensible object of Johnson's letter, though it is worth bearing in mind in connection with a certain letter written by Hastings afterwards. The letter which Chambers took with him concluded thus:—

"I am now going to take leave, perhaps a very long leave, of my dear Mr. Chambers; that he is going to live where you govern may justly alleviate the regret of parting; and the hope of seeing both him and you again, which I am not willing to mingle with doubt, must at present console as it can,

"Sir, your most humble servant,

"March 30, 1774." "SAM JOHNSON.

Before Hastings or Chambers saw Europe again, poor Johnson's kindly heart was still.

Macaulay closes the Nuncomar episode with this passage:

"It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the

death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the tour to the Hebrides, Jones' Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India."

The letter here referred to was simply Hastings' courteous acknowledgment of the letter brought by Chambers a few months before. The multitudinous cares and worries undergone by the Governor-General since the arrival of the councillors and judges, must have left him no leisure for private correspondence. By the association of ideas, the recent trial may easily have turned Hastings' mind to the introduction brought him by one of the judges, which he had not yet acknowledged; and his far-seeing sagacity may have suggested to him that the opportunity was a suitable one for paying attention to, and reciprocating the friendliness, of so powerful an influencer of public opinion as Johnson.*

The above passage from Macaulay's brilliant essay is a notable instance of the way in which he sometimes strains the facts for the purpose of literary effect. As a matter of fact, Hastings' letter to Johnson is dated 7th of August, *i.e.*, two days after the death of Nuncomar, forty-eight hours after the Brahmins had burned all "remains" of their chief. The words "a very few hours" keep out of sight the more literal realities, whose colour would not harmonise with the effective picture intended.

Chambers, like his colleagues Impey and Hyde, arrived in India married. They lived for several years in a garden-house at Bowanipore. They had also a town house in, I think, Old Post-office Street. They lost several children, as may be seen by the inscriptions in the family tomb in the South Park Street ground. Their eldest boy was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor* on his voyage to England in 1782. Sir Robert Chambers became Chief Justice in 1791; he was knighted some years before. He remained in India till 1799, and died near Paris in 1803. His widow brought his body to England, and it was buried in the Temple Church, where a monument by Nollekens was placed to his memory. At the date of the Nuncomar trial Chambers (as Hyde also) was 38 years of age. Lady Chambers survived him till 1839, when she died, aged about 81. Their daughter married Colonel Macdonald, the son of Flora.

* In fact, it would seem that the other side did try unsuccessfully (through Fowke) some years afterwards to get Johnson to take up the Nuncomar case. See Beveridge's "Nunda Kumar," p. 161 n.

There is a very good likeness of Chambers* in his robes (a half-length, with his hand up to his face) in the judges' library in the High Court of Calcutta. This was taken at Calcutta by Home (?). A copy of it is in the hall of University College, Oxford, having been presented by Lady Chambers.

There is scarcely anything interesting of a personal nature to be retailed about Impey himself. Though older than any of the colleagues who left England with him, he survived them all. He was but little over nine years in India, having, as is well known, been recalled to answer before Parliament certain charges against his conduct as Chief Justice in India. The motion for his impeachment was lost in the House of Commons. He died at Newick Park, in Sussex, in 1809, and was buried at Hammersmith. He was forty-three years of age at the time of the Nuncomar trial. I have a note that it never fell to his lot again to pass another capital sentence, but I am unable to quote any authority for this. It is probably true, as Farrer told the Parliamentary Committee, that during his residence in India he knew of no one executed save Nuncomar.

There are two portraits of Impey in his official costume in the Calcutta High Court—one by Kettle, which shows a very marked double chin. This is probably a faithful likeness, as it has been engraved for Impey's memoir by his son. The other† is a more pleasing one. In this his full-length figure is standing with one hand raised, as though the subject were addressing an audience. In both portraits the face wears a self-satisfied and rather benevolent expression. Sir Elijah lived in Calcutta on the site of a house now a convent, behind the Roman Catholic Church in Middleton Row. The map of 1785 shows that there was a round tank where the church now stands. The house was surrounded by an extensive deer park (enclosed by walls) lying between, but not quite up to Camnac Street and Russell Street; a gate in the southern wall opened into Middleton Street. The present Middleton Row was the avenue which led up between trees through the park from "Burial Ground Road" to the dwelling-house. The name of the above road was changed to the more euphonious one of "Park

* At a first glance this portrait reminds one of that of Bishop Berkeley in the examination hall, Trinity College, Dublin.

† The name of the artist printed under this painting is "Zoffany—1782." If it be by Zoffany the date is wrong, as he did not leave England till 1783; he may have arrived in Calcutta in time to paint Impey, who left in December, 1783.

Street," because it led past the Chief Justice's park. The eastern ends of the gardens attached to the houses in Russell Street (i.e., 12, and 13), occupied a century later by Chief Justices Peacock, Norman (who was murdered when officiating as Chief Justice), and Couch, were once a portion of the park of their earliest predecessor, whose name, thanks to Nuncomar and Macaulay, will be known to fame when those of his successors will be quite forgotten.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the first edition of these collected sketches, it was thought best to keep clear of the controversial topics in which the trial of Nuncomar has proved so fruitful. Their introduction would have interrupted the narrative and would have been unnecessary, and indeed unsuited, for the simple object which I had before me, when recalling and re-telling for modern Calcutta some of the most noted episodes of its early days.

A writer in an Indian periodical, who did me the honour of noticing my small volume, took me to task, in a friendly way, for this omission, and urged that it was a duty, not to be put aside, of anyone who raked up the embers of this old trial, to express an opinion for the general reader as to how far the obloquy attaching to the memories of Hastings and Impey in connection with the name of Nuncomar was merited.

One difficulty in fulfilling this suggested duty, arises from the necessity of first arriving at the opinion—of making up one's mind in short, whether to adopt the popularly-accepted belief as to the unscrupulous iniquity of Hastings, and the judicial turpitude of Impey, or to resignedly take a place amongst the unbelieving "idiots and biographers" scoffed at by Macaulay.

It is very evident that there is room for a wide diversity of opinion on the subject, when we see that the two authors who have most recently taken it up, and treated it with a breadth and closeness of scrutiny, and an amplitude of detail never before attempted, have each come to conclusions diametrically opposed to those of the other.

It would be presumptuous, as well as superfluous, on my part to offer any opinion as to the way in which the author of "Nuncomar

and Impey"* has acquitted himself of the task that he took upon him. It may be allowable, however, to say this much, that the work of Sir James Stephen gives evidence that he entered on the minute inquiry which it necessitated, in a liberal spirit, and conducted it with conspicuous impartiality, and with a desire to find out and to tell the whole truth.

A very inadequate idea would be formed of the scope of "The Trial of Nunda Kumar"† from its title, for its author has enriched its elaborate detail with an amount of historical information (some bearing on, some collateral to the main subject), which shows surprising research, and a successful diligence in tracing out the antecedents and surroundings of many of the actors in the drama, quite extraordinary. In addition to the qualification of a mind trained to habits of patient investigation, Mr. Beveridge has also brought to bear on a labour, which he has thrown himself into with great earnestness, an acquaintance with Bengal, its languages and its people, derived from many years' residence amongst them, and a long experience of practical judicial work.

I have been under obligation to both these works in compiling the foregoing narrative. They must be studied attentively by anyone desiring to know the full details of an event closely connected with the first workings of the Regulating Act, and Supreme Court Charter of 1773, which mark the creation of *British* India.

As this book may, perhaps, meet with readers who have not had access to, or leisure for, the exhaustive works just referred to, it may be permissible for me, in the interest of such, to say what was the impression, when I laid those books down, left on my mind as to the reasonableness of the conclusions to which each examiner of the facts invited his readers.

Mr. Beveridge has avowedly written chiefly for lawyers and students of history: by these he wishes to be judged.

As a layman, writing in a discursive unmethodical way, for only lay readers, I must for obvious reasons avoid the technical matters in controversy, and confine my remarks to the few main points which are of general interest.

And first, as to the question which has still the most import and interest for us. Had Nuncomar a fair trial? Mr. Beveridge falls far short of adopting the extravagant language in which the charge

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* "The Story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey," by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, K.C.S.I.

† "The Trial of Nunda Kumar," by H. Beveridge, Bengal Civil Service.

under this head was set forth in the motion for impeachment, where it is alleged that throughout the trial Impey manifested an ardent wish and determined purpose to effect the prisoner's ruin and death, and with this in view summed up the evidence "with gross and scandalous partiality." But he goes a good way in the same direction when he says that the trial was unfairly conducted, that the *desire* of the judges was to break down Nuncomar's witnesses, that in particular the Chief Justice's manner was bad throughout, and that the summing-up was unfavourable. Sir James Stephen's answer to this article of the Parliamentary charge is, that the trial was scrupulously fair, and that the summing up was perfectly impartial and gave every possible advantage to the prisoner; that Impey's conduct in the trial was not only just, but favourable and indulgent to Nuncomar. I can only say, for myself, that the way in which Sir James Stephen has demonstrated this satisfies me as to the soundness of his conclusion.

Mr. Beveridge has a good deal to say, and does so with much force, on a vulnerable point in the charge—I mean the passage (quoted in the narrative) beginning, "The nature of the defence is such that if it is not believed, it must prove fatal to the party," &c. Sir James Stephen allows that here the Chief Justice went too far (as regards an Indian trial, as I understand his foot-note). and Mr. Beveridge shows that prisoners are now never convicted (in Indian courts) because they set up false defences.*

Mr. Beveridge believes that Nuncomar was innocent, and so did the "majority" before him, and he certainly strikes on suggestions favourable to him which were not so put to the jury, and brings forward much, if I may venture the opinion, which seems to render it probable that the jewels-bond was genuine, and that some of the evidence for the prisoner was more worthy of credence than it was held to be. He considers that the Chief Justice "was not patient enough, or had not enough knowledge of the circumstances to say whether Nuncomar was guilty or not," and that the jury were "prejudiced and incompetent." He distinctly repudiates any insinuation that the jury or Impey *knowingly* condemned an innocent man. Very probably, Impey and his brethren *would* have been better fitted to conduct the trial if they reckoned their judicial experience in India by years instead of by months; and as

* Nuncomar's conviction seems to have been mainly due to the effect produced on the jury, by what was considered to be the perjury of his witnesses.

for the very probable prejudice of the jury, that is a consideration which, as Sir James Stephen says, does not affect the value of the evidence, but it does affect the value of the verdict apart from the evidence. It is too late in the day, however, to now speculate on a point which no one is ever likely to determine, viz., whether there was a mistake or not in the verdict. Neither this question nor that of the machinery of the Court have anything to do with the *animus* imputed to the Chief Justice. Regarding this, I think the inference is fully warranted, which Sir James Stephen has drawn from a study of Impey's general behaviour during the trial, namely, that so far from showing a desire to secure a conviction, he would have been pleased if the jury had relieved him of further responsibility by acquitting the prisoner.*

The most grievous charge that Impey had to answer, was that which may be noticed next, viz., that when Nuncomar had been convicted and sentenced to death, he corruptly refused to respite him pending the submission of his case for the consideration of the Sovereign. Mr. Beveridge speaks with no uncertain voice here: "The execution was iniquitous, even on the supposition of Nunda Kumar's guilt, and was the result of a plot to stifle inquiry into bribery and corruption." His view is more definitely put in the following vigorous words which are meant to apply perhaps as much to the sentence as to the refusal to respite: "What I and every honest man who knows the facts blame Impey for is, that he allowed himself to be prejudiced by his partiality for Hastings, and

* Any inference deducible from native tradition, which is necessarily vague, must of course be of little value; but as in some remote degree bearing on the actual conviction of Nuncomar, I may mention that I often spoke on the subject with respectable native gentlemen in and near Calcutta, to ascertain what impression they had on the subject, handed down by tradition or otherwise. When any answer was forthcoming, it was nearly always to the same purport, viz., that Nuncomar came to grief from having imprudently quarrelled with the Lord Sahib of the day, which quarrel was taken up by the "Sahib log" (European gentry) of Calcutta, who, as jurors, paid him out for it; and that what the verdict would be, was a foregone conclusion from the fidelity of the jury to Hastings, not from the partiality of the judges, whom tradition seemed to hold quite blameless in the matter. That Nuncomar was apprehensive of the hostility of the jury is evidenced by the extensive challenge which he resorted to in such a small European community. And that native litigants regarded the jury, not the judges, as the arbiters of their fate, for good or for evil, may be inferred from this passage in a petition to Government from one Ramnat Das (Calcutta, 1767) "I have heard much of the justice of the English law." . . . "I am very desirous of laying my case before the *juries* at the next sessions." (Selections from "Unpublished Records of Government.")

his hatred of the majority, and that he hanged Nunda Kumar in order that peculators in general, and his friend and patron Hastings in particular, might be safe." Sir James Stephen's answer to this charge is: that Impey had no power to respite; * that the whole of the Court was responsible for the course taken; that they were vested with discretionary power, and that they exercised it in good faith to the best of their judgment, and on reasonable grounds, thus fulfilling their only obligation in the matter.

To a Member of Parliament (George Johnstone, Governor of West Florida), who seems to have referred about the execution to Impey, the latter gave the chief motives which he said actuated him in deciding not to grant a respite—they are motives which would, and most probably did, equally influence the other judges. Their substance is thus briefly given: "That the crime was aggravated by perjury and forgery, and that the Executive Government had by their conduct made it impossible for the Court to respite Nuncomar without incurring the loss of their own independence and the suspicion of having been either bribed or intimidated." Sir James Stephen says that the motives alleged by Impey deserved to be attentively considered, and might have honestly convinced rational men that Nuncomar ought not to be respited—regarding the question as one of discretion. He does not say that they fully justified the decision of the judges not to respite. "I think," he concludes, "that this proceeding was not unjust, though I do not affirm that it was not mistaken. Lastly, I do not believe that Impey or any of his colleagues acted as they did in order to serve a political purpose."

I see no reason whatever to doubt that the motives stated by Impey were not the predominant and true ones. He was not over stating the consequences, I think, when he wrote: "No explanation could have made the natives understand that the escape from justice, if the sentence had not been carried into execution, had not been occasioned by the artifice of the prisoner, unless indeed it had been attributed to corruption or timidity in the judges, or a controlling power in the Governor-General or Council." Whether or not they

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* No doubt, as Sir James Stephen allows, if Impey had successfully used his influence with any one of the judges in favour of a respite, that, with his casting vote, would have been decisive; but this does not make him personally chargeable with a refusal to respite. In his own defence before the House of Commons he said: "Though called to answer as for acts done by me singly, those acts not only were not, but *would not* have been done by me individually." The words I have put in italics are not suggestive of Impey's having had great influence over his colleagues.

ought to have been above or regardless of consequences is another question. No doubt very perfect people would have been, but judges, like other men, can only act according to their lights. One is naturally perhaps disposed at this distance of time to think that the deciding not to respite the prisoner was a blunder, because—to mention no other reason—it put such a weapon into the hands of the majority; and to ask whether the authority of the Court, new though it was, could not have been vindicated by some measure far short of summary execution. But no one is now in a position to estimate the significance which the interferences of the Council wore to the judges, or to appreciate all the local circumstances which urged them to the course which they adopted in defence, as they believed, of the trust committed to them. We probably have no conception of the jealousy with which the new Councillors on the one hand, and the new Supreme Court on the other, guarded against encroachment on their exclusive privileges. This very power of reprieving was a sore point with the new Government; it was a prerogative not only conferred by Charter on the judges, but taken away from the Executive power; so that Francis when discussing the Regulating Act, &c. (Appendix Vol. I. Memoirs), complains "we are not trusted with the exercise of mercy possessed by our predecessors. We can neither stop a prosecution, nor pardon after conviction. Even the office of recommending to the Royal mercy is reserved to the Court of Judicature." The assertion of their power and position, and the resenting of all interference with their functions, would seem to have been a ruling passion with the new judges. It is conceivable that men, thus bristling with the importance of their office, may not always have been in the frame of mind best adapted for dispassionate judgment. Two years before Impey's letter to Governor Johnstone, he wrote this to Thurlow (1776):—

"The hauteur, insolence, and superior air of authority which the new members of the Council use to the Court may be partly discernible in the style of their minutes, but on the spot they maintain no colour of decency. My conduct to them has been absolutely the reverse, and I believe they are the more angry with me for it."

And this two years later:—

"Every dispatch from England brings accounts of actual or intended addresses to Parliament or H M.'s Ministers levelled against the Court. At present one, said to be presented by the Company to Lord Weymouth, is in the possession of Mr. Francis, which has been circulated about the settlement with intimation that by the next

advice intelligence will arrive that 'the wings of the Court have been clipt.'"

To Dunning, in the same year (1778), he wrote:—

"It was extremely painful to me to inflict the punishment of imprisonment on him (the Company's attorney), but the only possible means of supporting the least credit and authority in the Court, is to show that though the Governor-General and Council may not be punishable personally for outrages committed against the Court, yet it is out of their power to protect their agents."*

Mr. Beveridge specifies the corrupt motives which he maintains were rightly attributed to Impey, thus "there are many kinds of corruption, and in this case, I do not suspect Impey of killing Nunda Kumar for a money reward. But if he strained the law in order to convict him, and if he, in Macaulay's words, 'sitting as a judge,' put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose, he acted corruptly." The kind of corruption alleged does not lie at his door, if the facts marshalled by Sir J. Stephen establish, as they seem to me to do, that he was tried and convicted according to the ordinary course of law; and that the stay of execution was decided against by the judges in the due exercise of their discretion, as the occasion did not appear to them a proper one for mercy. The decision may have been a deplorable mistake, but, right or wrong, it was come to in good faith.

Was Hastings the real mover in the business? as Macaulay puts it. This is the point which Mr. Beveridge thinks the most interesting of all, and he has elucidated his consideration of it with a curious knowledge of local and general contemporaneous historical matter. He maintains that there is strong circumstantial evidence that Hastings was the real prosecutor. Sir James Stephen thinks "that Mohun Persaud was the real substantial prosecutor of Nuncomar, and that Hastings had nothing to do with the prosecution; and that there was no sort of conspiracy or understanding between Hastings and Impey in relation to Nuncomar, or in relation to his trial or execution."† The arguments in support of these very different conclusions should be read in full.

* These extracts are from the Impey MSS., Br. M.

† Sir James Stephen, relying mainly on evidence of Farrer, shows that the criminal proceedings grew naturally out of a previous civil suit. Mr. Beveridge gives reasons for questioning Farrer's memory, and contends that there had been no attempt at a prosecution before May, 1775. But supposing, for argument's sake, a "mover in the business" to be necessary, why should not this be Durham, the Company's lawyer? Captain Price says that he *was* the man

Mr. Beveridge's contention has enabled me to go only as far as allowing that he suggests further grounds for *suspicion* that Hastings was connected with the prosecution. It is but just to Mr. Beveridge, however, to mention prominently the one point in his argument which has made a strong impression on me. It will be remembered that the foreman of the jury complained to the Chief Justice about Farrer in connection with a proposed petition for respite, and that Impey in open court censured Farrer—with, I think, some display of truculence.* Permission for Robinson to make his complaint had been solicited by a Mr. Belli, who forwarded certain correspondence to the Chief Justice. Mr. Beveridge states positively that at the time Mr. Belli was private secretary to Hastings, and a member of his household. His note to Impey did not say that he was authorised by the Governor-General to act as the go-between, and he may have so acted on his own motion; but it is not unreasonable to suspect, that if the foreman of the jury could not approach the Chief Justice without an introduction, the introduction with which he would provide himself would be from some one more important than Mr. Belli in his *private* capacity. In any case it shows great indiscretion, to say the least of it, on the part of Impey (considering the rumours that must have been then going about) to be holding communication with anyone in Government House at such a time. But though the Belli incident, as known to us, may be very difficult to get over, it must, I fancy, have admitted of an explanation which would absolve Hastings of complicity with it. It appeared on the Parliamentary record as an item, I presume, of the proceedings. Did it give rise to comment?

Francis was prompting the impeachment, and must have known all the circumstances of Belli's position in Calcutta. His ingenuity, if anybody's could, would have brought into full significance an incident so suggestive of more than suspicion at a *primâ facie* glance; yet there is no evidence, that I know of, that this was

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who set the ball rolling (apparently towards the end of April). Price says that he did so to squeeze money out of the Rajah, "on the idea that he should be able to quash the evidence." But Durham is known to have been a friend of Hastings; is it violently improbable that on finding a good opportunity of discrediting Hastings' accuser, he made use of it—with a vengeance? A lawyer would have known the full value of carrying the war into the enemy's country, and how to do it at the right time; and he would take good care to work in such a manner that even the Governor General should not know who the *Deus ex Machina* was.

* See Appendix C.

attempted. Does not, as Macaulay argues, the failure of severe malevolent scrutiny entitle one to be considered free of those blemishes which it has not brought to light? But all arguments as to Hastings being the prosecutor, &c., are unnecessary if, as Mr. Beveridge maintains in one of his chapters, that he practically admitted "having employed Impey to hang Nuncomar." This is adopting Macaulay's view of the significance of the words, "My fortune, honour, and reputation,"* for which Hastings wrote he was once indebted to the support of Impey. Sir J. Stephen considers that the passage in which those words occur obviously refers to the support given by Impey and the other judges to Hastings when he submitted his resignation question to them.

Mr. Beveridge brings forward much to show the inapplicability of the words to the resignation support. He argues that if Impey had been against Hastings, then the decision of the rest of the judges in his favour would have served his purpose; that, as a fact, Hastings was only half-pleased with the support of the judges on that occasion, and told his friend Sulivan so, and expressed gratitude for only Barwell's support at that critical time.

As Sir James Stephen shows, in the same year in which Hastings wrote the above words in reference to Impey, the latter wrote in a similar strain to Dunning about Hastings, viz., "The power which is exerted against me would not have existed in the hands in which it is if I had not helped to keep it there."

It is clear that Impey attached much merit to the action of the judges in the resignation dispute from this passage in another letter of his to Governor Johnstone (1778 —MSS. Br. M.).

"I think it impossible for any impartial persons (and such the Directors ought to be) not to see that the Judges have had, in all their judgment and proceedings, attention to the interests of the nation and Company. Why else interfere to quiet the disturbances at Madras? Why mediate between Mr. Hastings and Sir John Clavering, when each claimed and actually possessed the seat of the Governor-General in different departments. If the judges, at the risk of censure if they were wrong, had not interposed, to what must they have appealed?

* These words, or words of exactly similar import, seem to have been in fashionable use at this time. Mr. Beveridge shows that Hastings used phrases like these in correspondence in April and May, 1775, with reference, too, to Nuncomar's accusations. Again, in 1783, he wrote "my name and fortune would be blasted." In one of the addresses to Impey occurs the phrase, "our reputations, our fortunes, and, perhaps, our lives;" and in Impey's letter to Johnstone, he speaks of "my fortune and character." In fact, the phrase was more or less of a formula used in no very definite sense.

Did anything remain but the *ratio ultima regum*? It was expected, and all the bazaars were shut up."

There can be little doubt, I think, that Impey and Hastings referred to the same occasion for support, in their respective letters. To hold that they referred to the hanging of Nuncomar, involves the assumption not only that they had conspired to iniquity, but that each had the folly and transcendental meanness to peach on himself and on his fellow-conspirator; Hastings to one of the Court of Directors, and Impey to the head of the Bar in England! The whole controversy might be perilled on the answer to this single question. Did any two men, subject to the ordinary impulses of human nature, ever act in such violation of its instincts? *

Mr. Beveridge is too shrewd a writer (as many pages in his book show) not to feel conscious that some excuse is necessary to account for Hastings' unnatural and compromising "confession" of the desperate remedy to which he had been driven once, so he is conjectured to have been off his guard when writing to Sulivan. "If Impey did hang Nunda Kumar in order to serve Hastings, we can not doubt that the latter would feel grateful to him, and an expression of his feelings might easily slip out in an unguarded moment." "For these reasons I hold that Macaulay's intuition was right, that Hastings was referring to the Nunda Kumar case, and that he accidentally and virtually confessed that Impey had hanged Nunda Kumar in order to support him." Warren Hastings had few "unguarded moments" in his life—probably never—when he had his pen in his hand. Here is what he wrote of himself in March, 1775, in the midst of all the concerted attacks of the new Councillors:—"I thank God I have hitherto possessed both my judgment and understanding undisturbed." And this is what Francis, no mean judge of character, wrote of him in 1776, after a close personal study:—"His reserve, whether natural or acquired, is so excessive, that I firmly believe he never reposed an entire confidence in any man." "The effect of his singular equa-

* There are innumerable letters in the Hastings and in the Impey MSS. which passed between these two men: some in original, some in rough draft. They are on all sorts of official and domestic subjects. Hastings often consulted Impey on certain questions, and Impey not unfrequently asked favours of Hastings on behalf of his friends, but always in a becoming, delicate manner; everything was straightforward and open. Certainly if there was a "bond of infamy" between them, no sign of presuming on it crept out in their private correspondence.

nimity," says Macaulay, "was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed: accordingly no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him."

Mr. Beveridge, however, has the satisfaction—and it is no small one—of feeling that his study of the Nuncomar episode has justified him, in adopting the conclusion of the great honest statesmen who believed in the guilt of Hastings and of Impey. He has ranged himself on the winning side. And no one seems to know this better than Sir James Stephen. "I am sorry for him," he says (speaking of Impey). "I believe him to have been quite innocent; but this book will be read by hardly anyone, and Macaulay's paragraph will be read with delighted conviction by several generations."

When Macaulay was but proposing to the *Edinburgh Review* the article on Warren Hastings, which has fastened such a stain upon its subject, he wrote to the editor, "I hardly know a story so interesting, and of such various interest. And the central figure is in the highest degree striking and majestic. I think Hastings, though far from faultless, one of the greatest men that England ever produced. He had pre-eminent talents for government, and great literary talents too; fine taste, a princely spirit, and heroic equanimity in the midst of adversity and danger. He was a man for whom Nature had done much of what the stoic philosophy pretended to do for its disciples. 'Mens æqua in arduis' is the inscription under his picture in the Government House at Calcutta, and never was there a more appropriate motto."

With what hesitation must he have brought himself to conclude that such a man once connived at another's death to shield himself from the charge of corruption. The earnestness and reluctance of his belief in Hastings' fellowship with the alleged crime, are indicated by the sophistry with which he attempts to half condone it, and by the fiercer light into which he drags, as if to relieve his conscience, the criminality of him who was but a subservient instrument.

The Nuncomar story which Macaulay told, with such consummate skill that it has petrified into polished marble, was but the revival of that of which Francis laid the foundation in Calcutta, and perfected in England. With it the ex-Councillor went to Burke and Fox and Gilbert Elliot,

"And in the porches of their ears did pour the leprous distilment"

with such gratifying effect, that he was soon able to write to one of a band in Calcutta whom Hastings called "the lees of Mr. Francis," "Impey will certainly be demolished, and, I think, with public disgrace. . . . . You will be delighted to read my examination before the Select Committee, and still more that of Mr. Shakspeare; between us Impey and Barwell are fairly made as black as the devil. . . . . But for the demolition of the Supreme Court of Judicature we should have no consolation in this transitory life."

When he saw that the impeachment was a-ripening, he wrote with prophetic exultation to another kindred spirit in Calcutta, "Let the event to their persons be what it may, the charges will gibbet their characters to all eternity."

The name of Impey may with truth be substituted for that of the Duke of Grafton in the following passage,* and with peculiar appropriateness, as the artist was in each case the same. It was Junius who etched the popular portrait of the Duke of Grafton; it was Junius, too—with the mask laid aside—who did the same for the first Chief Justice in India. "The portrait, which has been bitten into the national memory by the acid of Junius, has never been obliterated. A popular conception which has lasted for a generation is likely to last for a century, and when it has outlived a century it may die, but cannot be corrected. Doing penance, Grafton (Impey) will continue to stand in his white sheet beneath the very centre of the dome in the Temple of History."†

* "Early History of C. J. Fox," by G. O. Trevelyan.
† See Appendix D.

COPY OF A CARICATURE OF SIR PHILIP FRANCIS

Thacker, Spink and Co. Calcutta.

Face p. 109.

CHAPTER V.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND HIS TIMES.

3.—Duel between Francis and Hastings, 1780.

Though it is stepping aside from the order of events, this historical occurrence in the Calcutta life of Francis may now be recalled. Before coming to details, it will not be superfluous, even for Indian readers, to explain the origin of this duel, which has become obscured by the dust of time. Some believers in the *cherchez la femme* doctrine have pressed this combat into their service as one more proof of its almost universal application. For instance, a Calcutta reviewer, writing about twenty-five years ago, says :—

1. "Nearly opposite Alipore Bridge stood two trees, called 'The trees of Destruction,' notorious for duels fought under their shade; here Hastings and Francis exchanged shots in the days when European women were few; jealousy often gave rise to these affairs of honour."

And M. Charles de Rémusat, discoursing on Junius and the Memoirs of Francis in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in 1869, writes :—

2. Ce récit prouve que, *contrairement à des suppositions souvent répetées*, la beauté de Madame Grand fut complètement étrangere aux démêlés de Hastings et de Francis, et que ce n'est pas elle qui leur mit les armes à la main." (The italics are mine.)

Substantially the cause of the quarrel was this (says Francis's biographer): "Francis had promised Hastings not to interfere with his conduct of the war against the Mahrattas, then carried on near the Malabar coast. Hastings wanted to carry on operations against the same enemy on the Jumna. Francis deemed himself not precluded by his promise from opposing this. Hastings maintained that he was." Some sort of informal compact had been negotiated between the two, with a view to the public service being carried on harmoniously, when Barwell was about to leave India. If Francis had not given a promise of co-operation with Hastings, Barwell would not have gone, as it was Barwell's vote in Council which at this time gave Hastings the preponderance. Francis, it may be mentioned, wrote a letter to a friend on the night preceding the

duel, denying in the most solemn manner that he had given assent to the measures which, it will be seen, Hastings with equal steadfastness said he had.

At the end of June, 1780, a minute signed by Francis and another member of the Council, Wheler, was sent in to the Secretary to Government withholding their consent from the military operations, the immediate execution of which the Governor-General considered of the utmost importance, and making propositions which would frustrate his policy. Hastings, through the personal intervention of Sir John Day, seems to have tried to prevail on Francis to come to some accommodation, but without success, and on the 3rd July he wrote the celebrated hostile minute which provoked the duel.

Though written and dated on 3rd July, it was not made use of for about six weeks. The reason of this delay was probably due to the illness of Francis, who under the above date has this entry in his journal:—"July 3rd. . . Feeling the approach of a fever very strong upon me, about noon very ill and forced to go to bed." "4th. Worse. H. goes up the river with Mrs. H."

Hastings knowing what the result of his minute must be, determined probably to wait for Francis's recovery, and meantime to take Mrs. Hastings out of the way.

Both he and Francis also expected despatches in August announcing whether or not Hastings was to be continued in the Government; this, too, may have suggested to him the desirability of waiting. In the local newspaper the Governor-General's departure from the Presidency is chronicled—Sooksagur being given as his destination, accompanied by the intelligence that, on his journey up the Hooghly, he was saluted with twenty-one guns from the Danish and Dutch Settlements of Serampore and Chinsurah. On Monday, the 14th of August, Hastings returned to Calcutta and wrote to his wife whom he left with the Governor of Chinsurah: "I have seen nobody and heard nothing. But I have a letter from Madras which mentions the arrival of the Company's ships. The only news of consequence is that it is determined that I am to remain as long as I choose, *but with the same associate.*" The words I have underlined most probably indicated to Hastings the hopelessness of carrying on the Government harmoniously, and the conviction that the contest between him and his associate must now be *à outrance.*—The minute must no longer be withheld.

Francis's journal of this date (14th) records—"Mr. H. does not return till the evening. No Council. At night receive his minute,

which he says he had reserved till my return, with a private note."*

Hastings's minute is long; it will be sufficient to give an extract or two from the most provocative paragraphs in it. Though called forth by a minute from two of his colleagues, he avowedly treats the latter as solely that of Francis.

"I did hope that the intimation conveyed in my last minute would have awakened in Mr. Francis's breast, if it were susceptible of such sensations, a consciousness of the faithless part which he was acting towards me. I have been disappointed, and must now assume a plainer style and louder tone. In a word, my objections do not apply to the special matter of his minutes, to which I shall separately reply, but to the spirit of opposition which dictated them." . . . . . .

"By the sanction of this engagement and the liberal professions which accompanied it, I was seduced to part with the friend (to whose generous support steadfastly yielded in a course of six years I am indebted for the existence of the little power which I have ever possessed in that long and disgraceful period) to throw myself on the mercy of Mr. Francis, and on the desperate hazard of his integrity. My authority for the opinions I have declared concerning Mr. Francis depends on facts which have passed within my own knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and myself as the only redress to both, for artifices of which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud for which the law has made no provision is the exposure of it."

The Governor-General, as we have seen, sent a copy of this minute to Francis on the evening before the Council day on which it was to be officially read, because he judged it "unbecoming to surprise him with a minute at the Council table,† or to send it first to the secretary."

What happened on its being read we learn from Francis's journal. "August 15, Revenue Board. When it was over I took him into a private room and read to him the following words:—

* In some Chancery proceedings, taken against Hastings in 1804, it appears "that about the month of July, 1780," he applied to a wealthy native "telling him that he was in great want of the sum of three lakhs of Sicca rupees." He got the loan, paid by instalments. The coincidence of his being in urgent need of funds when he knew that a duel must follow his plain speaking to Francis, suggests the idea, I think, that he may with this loan have contemplated an additional provision for his wife in case of his death. A copy of the judgment in the Chancery case is given in Mr. Beveridge's Nunda Kumar.

† The Council House where this scene occurred was that shown in Wood's map of 1784, *i.e.*, at the N.E. corner of Council-house Street, over against the

"'Mr. Hastings,—I am preparing a formal answer to the paper you sent to me last night. As soon as it can be finished, I shall lay it before you. But you must be sensible, sir, that no answer I can give to the matter of that paper can be adequate to the dishonour done me by the terms you have made use of. You have left me no alternative but to demand personal satisfaction of you for the affronts you have offered me.' As soon as I had read the preceding words to Mr. Hastings, he said 'he expected the demand and was ready to answer it.'"

A place and time of meeting were fixed before they parted. Francis further writes in his diary on the same day that he "mentions the affair to Watson, who happens to dine with me; he agrees to provide pistols in order to prevent suspicions." Colonel Watson was the chief engineer at Fort William. Mr. Hastings engaged the services of Colonel Pearse, the Commandant of Artillery, to whom he wrote on the evening of the 15th August, asking him to breakfast the next morning. He then, after enjoining secrecy, asked Colonel Pearse to be his second in a hostile meeting which had been arranged for between him and Mr. Francis for Thursday morning, the 17th of August. The entry in Francis's journal for the 16th of August is:—

"Employed in settling my affairs, burning papers, &c., in case of the worst—dull work.'"

That for the 17th—

"Arrived at the ground near Belvedere near an hour before Mr. H., who comes about six with Colonel Pearse. Watson marks out a distance about fourteen common paces, the same he said at which Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam stood.* My pistol missing fire, I changed it; we

building then called Accountant-General's office, now the Treasury. The old Government House stood as now between Old Court-house Street and Council-house Street, but did not extend so far west as the present Government House does, the Council House intervening between the former and Council-house Street. In other words, the Council House and Government House were together on the ground now forming the Government House enclosure, the former being west of the latter. There was an older Council House still which was condemned in 1764, as ill adapted for the "privacy which is often requisite." Tradition, I do not know with what truth, places the older Council House, north of the Exchange, on a site now occupied by the office of the private secretary to the Viceroy.

* The allusion to Fox and Adam's duel, which impressed itself on the memory both of Colonel Watson and Mr. Francis, shows that, among the English in India, the standard of propriety or fashion in most things was regulated then, as now, by the customs prevailing in England, and especially in high life in England. The account of the duel which determined the question of distance between the combatants at Alipore could only have recently arrived in Calcutta, as it was fought on 29th November, 1779. Fox was attended by his friend Fitzpatrick, son of Lord Ossory, and Adam by Major Mackenzie Humberstone. Fox was slightly wounded in the side.

then fired together, and I was wounded and fell: I thought my backbone was broken, and of course that I could not survive it.'

Sir Elijah Impey writes on the same day to a friend :—

"This morning Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis fought with pistols: they both fired at the same time. Mr. Francis's ball missed, but that of Mr. Hastings pierced the right side of Mr. Francis, but was prevented by a rib, which turned the ball, from entering the thorax. It went obliquely upwards, passed the backbone without injuring it, and was extracted about an inch on the left side of it. The wound is of no consequence, and he is in no danger."

Colonel Pearse, who was Hastings' second, and whose detailed account of the duel has been published,* says :—

"The next morning, Thursday, August 17, I waited on Mr. Hastings in my chariot to carry him to the place of appointment. When we arrived there we found Mr. Francis and Colonel Watson walking together, and therefore, soon after we alighted, I looked at my watch and mentioned aloud that it was half-past five, and Francis looked at his and said it was near six. This induced me to tell him that my watch was set by my astronomical clock to solar time. The place they were at was very improper for the business; it was the road leading to Alipore, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvedere Garden, on the western side of the house. Whilst Colonel Watson went, by the desire of Mr. Francis, to fetch his pistols, that gentleman proposed to go aside from the road into the walk; but Mr. Hastings disapproved of the place, because it was full of weeds and dark. The road itself was next mentioned, but was thought by everybody too public, as it was near riding time and people might want to pass that way; it was therefore agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house (the present Kidderpore Orphanage Asylum) on an old road that separated his ground from Belvedere (since the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), and before he (we?) had gone far, a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place.

"As soon as the suitable place was selected," continues Colonel Pearse, "I proceeded to load Mr. Hastings's pistols; those of Mr. Francis were already loaded. When I had delivered one to Mr. Hastings and Colonel Watson had done the same to Mr. Francis, finding the gentlemen were both unacquainted with the modes usually observed on those occasions, I took the liberty to tell them that, if they would fix their distance, it was the business of the seconds to measure it. Colonel Watson immediately mentioned that Fox and Adam had taken fourteen paces, and he recommended the distance. Mr. Hastings observed it was a great distance for pistols; but as no actual objection

* Reproduced in Vol. II., *Calcutta Review*.

was made to it, Watson measured and I counted. When the gentlemen had got to their ground, Mr. Hastings asked Mr. Francis if he stood before the line or behind it, and being told behind the mark, he said he would do the same, and immediately took his stand. I then told them it was a rule that neither of them were to quit the ground till they had discharged their pistols, and Colonel Watson proposed that both should fire together without taking any advantage. Mr. Hastings asked if he meant they ought to fire by word of command, and was told he only meant they should fire together as nearly as could be. These preliminaries were all agreed to, and both parties presented; but Mr. Francis raised his hand and again came down to the present; he did so a second time, when he came down to his present—which was the third time of doing so—he drew his trigger, but his powder* being damp, the pistol did not fire. Mr. Hastings came down from his present to give Mr. Francis time to rectify his priming, and this was done out of a cartridge with which I supplied him upon finding they had no spare powder. Again the gentlemen took their stands, both presented together, and Mr. Francis fired. Mr. Hastings did the same at the distance of time equal to the counting of one, two, three distinctly, but not greater. His shot took place. Mr. Francis staggered, and, in attempting to sit down, he fell and said he was a dead man. Mr. Hastings hearing this, cried out, 'Good God! I hope not,' and immediately went up to him, as did Colonel Watson, but I ran to call the servants."

Another part of Colonel Pearse's narrative says:—

"When the pistols were delivered by the seconds, Mr. Francis said he was quite unacquainted with these matters, and had never fired a pistol in his life, and Mr. Hastings told him he believed he had no advantage in that respect, as he could not recollect that he had ever fired a pistol above once or twice." Also—"While Mr. Francis was lying on the ground he told Mr. Hastings, in consequence of something which he said, that he best knew how it affected his affairs, and that he had better take care of himself, to which Mr. Hastings answered that he hoped and believed the wound was not mortal, but that if any unfortunate accident should happen, it was his intention immediately to surrender himself to the Sheriff."

When Francis was shot, Colonel Pearse says:—"I ran to call the servants and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound. I was absent about two minutes. On my return I found Mr. Hastings standing by Mr. Francis, but Colonel Watson was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from Belvedere to carry him to town. When the sheet was brought, Mr. Hastings and myself bound it

* A contemporary (G. F. Grand) says in his narrative: "The seconds baked the powder for their respective friends."

around his body, and we had the satisfaction to find it (*sic*) was not in a vital part, and Mr. Francis agreed with me in opinion as soon as it was mentioned. I offered to attend him to town in my carriage, and Mr. Hastings urged him to go, as my carriage was remarkably easy. Mr. Francis agreed to go, and therefore, when the cot came, we proceeded towards the chariot, but were stopped by a deep, broad ditch, over which we could not carry the cot; for this reason Mr. Francis was conveyed to Belvedere."

The place originally fixed for the meeting probably corresponds to the second gate (from the western side) leading into Belvedere compound. Francis proposed to turn aside into what was seemingly a disused, overgrown walk of Belvedere, close to their left; but Hastings, who, apparently, meant to do mischief that morning (witness his remark about the fourteen paces and his deliberation in firing his pistol), and therefore wished to see clearly, objected on the score of the weeds and darkness caused by the overhanging trees. Somebody then proposed the main Alipore road, but he was outvoted by all the others. Colonel Pearse does not say (although there were only four of them present) who the individual was who had so little regard for appearances as to suggest the public road; possibly it was his own principal, the daylight-loving Hastings. After this proposal was rejected, they turned to their right into the cross-road leading to the west, and from which branched off, as we venture to assume, the "old road" already alluded to.

It is evident they could not have been far from where they left the carriages, as it may be presumed the servants, from the calling of whom Colonel Pearse returned in "two minutes," were syces and perhaps a chapprassi or two, and Belvedere must have been close at hand, since Colonel Watson himself went there to fetch a cot, leaving the two combatants by themselves. What occurred after the binding with the sheet is not easy to follow. The duellists, on first arriving, *drove* up to the place of appointment. Why, then, not take the cot back into the main road to the "chariot" by the way which Colonel Pearse had gone and returned so quickly? The supposition that occurs to me is this: they probably thought it prudent to carry the wounded man as little in the carriage as they could, as the cot must have been easier for him; they therefore directed the carriage to go on towards Alipore bridge, meaning to take a short and diagonal cut across country with the cot, and pick up the carriage at the Belvedere side of the bridge; so they proceeded through the low

marshy ground in the direction of the present Hermitage compound and the Zoological Gardens, till they were pulled up by a deep watercourse, a very likely thing to meet in the height of the rainy season. There they had to retrace their steps, and finally emerge by the cross-road into the main-road, where they had first assembled. Mr. Francis was probably in much pain and weakness by this time, and was counselled to give up the idea of going into town, but to make for the nearest port—Belvedere. Unless records or trustworthy tradition point to another locality, I am inclined to think that the compound of No. 5, Alipore Road, holds near its northern boundary the site of this memorable duel.

The account goes on to say that Hastings and Colonel Pearse went to Calcutta to the residence of the former "to send assistance to meet Francis, but he had been prevailed on to accept a room at Belvedere, and there the surgeons, Dr. Campbell, the principal, and Dr. Francis, the Governor's own surgeon, found him. When Dr. Francis returned, he informed the Governor that the wound was not mortal." "After the first confusion had subsided," writes Francis himself, "and after I had suffered great inconvenience from being carried to a wrong place, I was at last conveyed to Major Foley's* house on a bed."

Having escaped Hastings' bullet in the morning, Francis had next to encounter the danger of being put to death during the day by a well-intentioned, but armed and meddlesome man, for he tells us that "the surgeon arrived in about an hour and-a-half from the time I was wounded, and cut out the ball and bled me twice in the course of the day."

The next entries in Francis's journal are—

"*August* 17.—Mr. Hastings sends to know when he may visit me."

"*August* 18.—In these two days the pain I suffered was very considerable."

"*August* 19.—Desire Colonel Watson to tell Mr. Hastings as civilly as possible that I am forced to decline his visit."

"*August* 24.†—Return to Calcutta."

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* I have a suspicion that this name should have been copied "Tolly's" from Francis's papers.

† The entry on 24th disproves the old story so often told in Calcutta, viz., that the late Mrs. Ellerton remembers seeing Francis in a palanquin crossing over the bridge at Tolly's Nulla "all bloody from the duel." It is certain that Francis did not cross Alipore bridge for a week after the duel. She may, however have seen him at the Belvedere side. This lady, who was such a curious

The account concludes with a formal assurance that "both parties behaved as became gentlemen of their high rank and station. Mr Hastings seemed to be in a state of such perfect tranquillity, that a spectator would not have supposed that he was about an action out of the common course of things, and Mr. Francis's deportment was such as did honour to his firmness and resolution."

Warren Hastings, writing a few days afterwards to his friend, Lawrence Sulivan, says:—"I hope Mr. Francis does not think of assuming any merit from this silly affair. I have been ashamed that I have been an actor in it, and I declare to you upon my honour that such was my sense of it at the time, that I was much disturbed by an old woman, whose curiosity prompted her to stand by as spectatress of a scene so little comprehended by the natives of this part of the world, and attracted others of the same stamp from the adjacent villages to partake in the entertainment."

I subjoin here, as being of special interest, three letters from Warren Hastings to his wife relating to this duel; they have never been published before that I know of.

No. 1 is very steadily penned, though written immediately on his return from the duel. It fully bears out the state of "perfect tranquillity" vouched for by his second. Like most of his letters to his wife, it is dated merely with the day of the week.

"*Calcutta, Thursday morning.*

"My dearest Marian,—I have desired Sir John Day* to inform you that I have had a meeting this morning with Mr. Francis, who has received a wound in his side, but I hope not dangerous. I shall know the state of it presently and will write to you again. He is at Belvedere, and Drs. Campbell and Francis are both gone to attend him there. I am *well* and *unhurt*. But you must be content to hear this

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link between old and modern Indian days, died only in 1858. Her grave in South Park Street Cemetery is quite close to that of Sir Wm. Jones. In the memoirs of Carey, by Dr. George Smith, is the following passage about her:—"Corrie (first Bishop of Madras) married the daughter of Mrs. Ellerton, who knew Sirampore and Carey well. It was Mr. Ellerton who, when an indigo planter at Malda, opened the first Bengali school, and made the first attempt at translating the Bible into that vernacular." Not long before her death at 87, Bishop Wilson, whose guest she was, wrote of her "She made me take her to Henry Martyn's pagoda (Sirampore)." She remembers the neighbourhood, and Ghyrretty Ghat and house in Sir Eyre Coote's time; the ancient Governor of Chinsura and his fat Dutch wife are still in her mind. When she visited him with her first husband (she was then sixteen), the old Dutchman cried out, "Oh, if you would find me such a nice little wife, I would give you ten thousand rupees."

* The Advocate-General.

good from me; you cannot see me. I cannot leave Calcutta while Mr. Francis is in any danger. But I wish you to stay at Chinsura. I hope in a few days to have ye pleasure of meeting you there. Make my compts. to Mr. Ross, but do not mention what has passed. My Marian, you have occupied all my thoughts for these two days past and unremittedly.

"Yours ever, my most beloved,
"W. H."

"*Thursday evening.*

"My beloved Marian,—I despatched a letter to you this morning at seven o'clock under cover of one to Sir John Day, whom I desired to break the subject of it to you before he delivered it, that you might not be alarmed by any sudden report of what passed between Mr. Francis and me this morning. I hope you received it before dinner, as the hurkaru had strict injunctions to be quick, and there was no other risk of the letter missing you, but that of Sir John's having left Chinsura or being out of the way. I have now the pleasure to tell you that Mr. Francis is in no manner of danger, the ball having passed through the muscular part of his back just below the shoulder, but without penetrating or injuring any of the bones. As you say, 'Who knows what may happen; who can look into the seeds of time,' &c. I have sent the rice to poor Naylor, but I fear it is too late for diet or medicine to do him service. Mr. Motte* will return you your key. I have also given him in charge your hundred gold mohurs which you desired me to carry with me. I am obliged to stay in Calcutta at least until Mr. F. is known to be free from all danger, lest my absence should be called a flight, so that I cannot join you this week, but do not let this bring you to Calcutta before the time you have fixed for your return.

"I am well and the remains of the influenza are scarcely perceptible about my ancles (*sic*). You do not tell me how you are. Do not presume upon your good appetite, and be abstemious at night.—Adieu,

"Yours very affectionate,
"Warren Hastings."

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* This name often occurs in the private correspondence of Hastings. Mr. Motte was a free merchant; in 1766 he undertook a journey to the diamond mines in Orissa by direction of Clive, and wrote an account of it. He afterwards lived at Benares, and moved thence to Hooghly, where the Hastings used to visit Mrs. Motte, who was a great friend of Mrs. Hastings. For some time Mr. Motte held a police appointment in Calcutta, where his name is still preserved in "Mott's Lane." About that time he must have got into financial difficulties, as in 1781 there is an advertisement in the newspaper calling a meeting of his creditors. Amongst the Impey manuscripts in the British Museum, there is a petition from Mr. Motte written from the Calcutta Jail in 1783, in which this friend of the Governor-General's begs that his creditors will assent to his release from prison on the score of humanity. His wife accompanied Mrs. Hastings to England in 1784.

Did I tell you that I had a letter from Scott, who mentions his passing young Touchet, my lion zebra all in perfect health. Pray tell Mrs. Motte so. Calcutta is horridly damp and dismal besides.

"*Calcutta, Friday morning.*

"My dear Marian,—I have received yours. You must not be angry; perhaps it is best that what has passed has passed, and it may be productive of future good. My desire that you would not leave Chinsura proceeded only from the apprehension lest, by a precipitate departure, your spirits might be agitated and your health affected by not chusing (*sic*) proper seasons and making the fit preparation for your voyage. Do now as you please. You will find me here free from both sickness, anxiety, and trouble; and if you chuse to stay longer where you are, you may have the same satisfaction of knowing that I am so. Mr. Francis continues well and I pronounce his cure certain. Poor Naylor is dead.* Will you let Sir J. Day know that there is no reason for his returning to town.

"I will write to him myself. I am sorry to hear Lady Day is sick; my compts. to her, to Bibby Motte, and Mr. Ross,

"Yours ever,
W. H."

You are much obliged to Col. Pearse.†

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* See Appendix E.

† Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, of the Artillery, who died a few miles up the Hooghly, where he went for change of air, in June, 1789. His body was brought to Calcutta and buried in South Park Street Cemetery, where the tomb is still to be seen. The newspaper of the day says that eight officers came from Barrackpore to carry the body to the grave, but arrived too late. Lord Cornwallis was present at the funeral, or, as the local chronicler puts it, "His Lordship attended and drop't a tear with the crowd."

CHAPTER VI.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND HIS TIMES.

4.—Home and Social Life, 1774–1780.

(I.)

Under this heading it is proposed to say something about the general routine of life in Calcutta during and about the period that Philip Francis sojourned there, keeping him as the central figure, so to say, of the society whose sayings and doings and amusings, &c., may come under review.

Culled from many sources, the contents of the next chapter or two must necessarily, I fear, be of a rambling, discursive nature.

In thus gossiping upon the social life of Francis and his Calcutta cotemporaries it may be interesting to see, as a preliminary, whether there are any data which would help us to say where he resided.

In his own and his brother-in-law's letters allusions are found to three houses occupied by Francis. Thus, in the December of the year of their arrival, *i.e.*, in 1774, Macrabie writes :—"The expenses of this settlement are beyond all conception. Mr. F—— pays £500 a year for a large, but rather mean house like a barn, with bare walls and not a single glass window."* I have found no clue to the whereabouts of this house.

The same authority writes that, by the following February, Francis had purchased what Macrabie calls a "Lodge" in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, which, he says, "consists of a spacious hall and four chambers, surrounded by a verandah and colonnade, and stands in the midst of twenty acres of ground, pleasant to the last degree." In another letter he says that Francis "talks already of quitting Calcutta, or of having only a small house by way of office and dressing-room. None but friends to be admitted here (the Lodge): Lady Impey yesterday, Lady Anne and Colonel

* A lady, writing from Calcutta in 1783, says :—"Glass is a dear commodity in Calcutta, and imported solely from England; on which account the Governor's house is almost the only one that can boast that distinction." Venetians and windows of cane-work were mostly in vogue.

Monson to-day." The Lodge so described I believe to be on the site of the house occupied for many years as the official residence of the Collector of the 24-Pergunahs.

As Mr. Francis bought the Lodge in 1775, and sold it to Mr. Livius for Rs. 30,000 in April, 1780, it is not likely that he lived in any other suburban residence during his sojourn in India. In Colonel Call's map, dated 1786, the names of the residents in many of the suburban houses are given, and that of Mr. Francis is attached to the house on the site indicated. The present house is a double-storied one, therefore the "Lodge" must have been added to or rebuilt, as from Macrabie's description it was originally a bungalow, but on an ample scale, as Messrs. Livius and Collings lived there with Francis for a time.

It is evident that the Lodge stood on low marshy ground, such as the neighbourhood of Tolly's Nullah might have been expected to be, from the following letter addressed to Francis by some humorous fellow (signing himself D.), who had been reading Pliny's Epistles:—

"31*st March*, 1779.—I was in pursuit of you last night near two hours without success. I went first to your '*villa inter paludes*,' where I found not the smallest vestige of society. I then returned to town, and, quitting my chariot, I took to my litter and proceeded in it to your house near the Capitol, where, to my utter astonishment, I found the same appearance of desertion and desolation. It struck me that you might have repassed the Rubicon, and with your slaves have gone again upon some private plan of pleasures into Cis-alpine Gaul (*i.e.*, Chandernagore). While I was ruminating upon these things, a Ligurian tax-gatherer (Macrabie), whom I remember to have seen among your followers, informed me that, having been forced by certain putrid exhalations from the marshes in which your villa stands to discontinue your weekly symposium there, and having at a late meeting at Nasidienus drank too deeply of Falernian, you had retired with two females (Contemplation and Temperance), with whom you had been very lately made acquainted, to the gardens of Rufillus (Livius), near the fourth stone on the Falernian Way, to enjoy with him and his freedman, Petronius Macer (Watts), the feast of reason and the flow of soul, or to prepare yourself for the more momentous matter that may be debated in the Senate this day," &c.

It would seem, however, that Francis did not content himself with a small house in town for an office, &c., from this entry in Macrabie's journal:—

"21*st February*, 1776.—We have at last engaged a capital house, the best in town; but such a rent! £100 a month is enormous;

neighbour Collings and I must contribute towards it." And Francis says, a month later, in a letter to John Burke :—"Here I live, master of the finest house in Bengal, with a hundred servants, a country house, and spacious gardens, horses and carriages, yet so perverse is my nature, that the devil take me if I would not exchange the best dinner and the best company I ever saw in Bengal for a beefsteak and claret at the Horn, and let me choose my company."

Where was this vaunted house? It is stated by a witness at a trial in Calcutta in 1778, in which Francis was a principal, that he recognised the defendant as "Mr. Francis, who lived behind the Playhouse." The Playhouse referred to was one which stood in the block now called "New China Bazar," behind (north of) Writer's Buildings.* A reference to old maps shows that the house (apparently a very large one) standing about this time nearest to the theatre, on the north, is one at the corner of Old Fort Ghaut Street and Clive Street; there is no house near it, and its site exactly corresponds with that now occupied by the Oriental Bank.

Tradition assigns this as the site of the house lived in by Clive, whence Clive Street derives its name.

In the absence, therefore, of any direct evidence to the contrary, the probability is great that this was "the finest house in Bengal" for which Francis paid 1000 rupees a month. Here he gave his dinners and balls, and here, too, we may suppose he spent the day before his duel with Hastings, in burning papers which it is not unlikely could have thrown much light on the Junius question; and here he was brought wounded a week after the duel.

In the last century, work occupied much less of the European's time in Calcutta than now. The young civilian, for instance, went to office during the hot weather from 9 a.m. to 12, and during the cooler months from 10 to 1.30, and again from 7.30 to 9 in the evening. When a despatch had to be sent to England special attendance in the evening was enjoined. The easy-going pace† of the official rank and file was adopted by the

* This was known as the "New Playhouse." Mr. R. C. Sterndale, in his very curious and useful historical account of the Calcutta Collectorate, gives the pottah of the original grant of land (1st June, 1775), on which it was built by private subscription. The *old* theatre was in Lall Bazaar, on its south side; Williamson, the auctioneer, or, as he styled himself, "Vendu Master," set up there afterwards.

† Chief Justice Impey writes to his brother :—"I take great care to spare myself, never sitting in Court after one at noon."

rest of the community. The periodic arrival and departure of the Europe ships gave a temporary stimulus to all business, and then the comfortable jog-trot was resumed. The comparatively small amount of routine work to be got through admitted of a more rational allotment of time for public or other duties, and for social refreshment than prevails in these busy days.

A very good idea of how an ordinary day was disposed of can be gathered from the letters of Miss Sophia Goldborne and of Mrs. Fay, written from Calcutta in the time of Warren Hastings, and from diaries and letters preserved by Philip Francis, and from other similar and cotemporary sources. If we follow a day's routine, some obsolete old customs and fashions will be brought into view.

The early morning ride or walk was taken by the generality of the men and by some of the ladies, just as now. A light breakfast came off about 9, or earlier. "The fashionable undress, except in the article of being without stays (and stays are wholly unworn in the East) is much in the English style, with large caps or otherwise, as fancy dictates. No care or skill is left unexerted to render the appearance easy and graceful, a necessary circumstance (adds Miss Goldborne), as gentlemen in the course of their morning excursions continually drop in, who say the prettiest things imaginable with an air of truth that wins on the credulity and harmonizes the heart."

Two o'clock was the usual hour for dinner; in preparation for this "the *friseur* formed the person anew." Those ladies who did not wear ornamented caps had artificial flowers "intermixed with their tresses." Powder was used in great quantities on the hair. Gentlemen generally sat down in white jackets.* In describing the dinner the lady last quoted says:—

"To every plate are set down two glasses; one pyramidal (like hob-nob glasses in England), for loll shrub (scilicet, claret); the other a common sized wineglass for whatever beverage is most agreeable. Between every two persons is placed a decanter of water and tumbler for diluting at pleasure. Hosts of men on all occasions present themselves at dinner, but the sexes are blended (I will not say in pairs, for the men are out of all proportion to the female world) so as to aid the purposes of gallantry and good humour . . . . . The attention and court paid to me was astonishing. My smile was meaning, and my articulation melody; in a word, mirrors are almost

* It was not till Lord Wellesley's time that white clothing began to be considered too undress for public occasions, and that cloth came into general use. So writes Lord Valentia.

useless at Calcutta, and self-adoration idle, for your looks are reflected in the pleasure of the beholder, and your claims to first-rate distinction confirmed by all who approach you.

"After the circulation of a few loyal healths, &c., the ladies withdraw, the gentlemen drink their cheerful glass for some time beyond that period, insomuch that it is no infrequent thing for each man to despatch his three bottles of claret, or two of white wine, before they break up."

This young lady was a fresh arrival, and was a member of an official's household who saw a good deal of company; one is not, therefore, surprised at her remarking that "wine is the heaviest family article, for whether it is taken fashionably or medicinally, every lady (even to your humble servant) drinks at least a bottle per diem, and the gentlemen four times that quantity." Nor to learn, that after such potations "the ladies at Calcutta retire (after dinner) not to enjoy their private chat, for to sleep is the object of their wishes and the occupation of their time—a refreshment that alone enables them to appear with animation in the evening. Accordingly both ladies and gentlemen entirely undress and repose on their beds in the same manner as at the midnight hour, and on awakening are a second time attended by their hair dresser,* and thus a second time in the twenty-four hours came forth armed at all points for conquest."

At sunset Calcutta became alive again; society went out for its airing; those who could not afford vehicles walked amongst the trees and shrubs round the great tank in Lall Diggee, or on the ramparts of the old Fort. The more prosperous went in chariots and phætons of English build. Ladies of *ton*, we're told, adopted the latter, and "always make a point of having a gentleman companion who lolls at his ease, the office of managing the reins, &c., being wholly assumed by the lady—the horses finely set out with silver nets to guard their necks from insects, and reins elegantly decorated. To finish the whole a kittesaw (a kind of umbrella) is suspended not unfrequently over the lady's head, which gives her the true Eastern

* The hair dresser was indispensable in those days of powder and pomatum, not only for ladies, but for gentlemen too, who twice daily passed under his hands. The lowest pay which a native hair-dresser got was two rupees monthly, but in many instances it ranged much higher; each gentleman entertained the services of a hair-dresser as well as of a "shaving-barber." There were two Frenchmen settled in Calcutta as special hair-dressers One of them, M. Malvaist, charged two gold mohurs monthly for dressing ladies' hair; the other, M. Sivet, charged eight rupees to ladies for one hair-cutting and four rupees for hair-dressing, and half these amounts to gentlemen.

grandeur of appearance." The roads in and about Calcutta were very bad; that along the river did not yet exist. The "Course" was the only drive, but the dust, for which it was remarkable, tempered the enjoyment of an airing taken there. Many resorted to the river for its cooling breezes, though its surface and its banks must have presented many unsavoury sights. Private budgerows and pinnaces, many-oared and of a size and magnificence not often seen now, were then in fashion. Whole families went for their evening airing in them. Some carried bands of music. The gilded youth of the period rather affected being attended by an African slave or two from Bourbon or Mauritius (called Coffres), who to their other accomplishments added that of being able to play on the French horn.

On return from the Course, tea or coffee was served in every house. Formal and friendly visits were paid at this sensible hour, each visit being very short, as a lady would, perhaps, have several to pay, and then to hasten home to receive her own callers. Gentlemen also were allowed to make their calls in the evening, after tea, and if asked to lay aside their hats it was understood that they were invited to stay for supper. This was generally announced at ten o'clock, cards or music filling up the interval; the company generally broke up about midnight. "In ten minutes after your return home," writes Macrabie, "the servants desert and leave you to your meditations."

This entry in the Secretary's diary tells what the social evenings and suppers were like, viz. :—

"November 3 (A party at the Claverings).—We have been in the heart of the enemy's camp. The whole house of Barwell, with Sir Impey and Lady. We wanted only the Governor to make it complete.

"*Entre nous*, the evening was stupid enough, and the supper detestable; great joints of roasted goat, with endless dishes of cold fish. With respect to conversation, we have had three or four songs screeched to unknown tunes; the ladies regaled with cherrybrandy, and we pelted one another with bread-pills *a la mode* de Bengal."

It was probably the suppers which were accountable for this entry :—

"September 15, 1775.—This bile is the devil. Mr. Francis has another attack of it, and has headache and fever. I will make him dine quietly at home, though we are invited to a card and supper party. He says he cannot be sick, with any degree of comfort, unless his dear wife is at hand.*

* "I charge you," wrote an American cousin to Francis, when starting for India, "not to let Macrabie play the quack with you. He is a mighty man for physic, and will be offering you doses every day; but don't you take them, if you do he will work you to death before you get to Fort William."

Regarding the Calcutta Sunday in the olden time, Miss Goldborne's letters disclose a privilege allowed to gentlemen which would seem to have been highly valued. It may be promised that the church which she refers to was the room in the old fort set aside for the purpose. She calls it "a ground-floor, with arrangement of plain pews." It lay between the remains of the gateway and the Black Hole, and was used (under orders of Government in 1760) as a church for over twenty-five years, though much too small for the increasing congregation.

"I have been at church in my new palanquin (the mode of genteel conveyance) where *all* ladies are approached by sanction of ancient custom by all gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hands to conduct them to their seat. Accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition (which between ourselves are chiefly old fellows) on hearing of a ship's arrival make a point of repairing to this holy dome and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers."

Like most new arrivals in India, Francis and his friend were much exercised at the number of servants that inexorable custom planted on them. The remarks wrung from Macrabie on this head have lost none of their force and appropriateness after the lapse of more than a century:—

"One hundred and ten servants to wait upon a family of four people, and yet we are economists! Oh monstrous! Tell me if this land does not want weeding! . . . . . The domestic cares in this country to the person who thinks it in the least degree essential to his welfare that bills should be examined before they are paid, and that servants who are born and bred rogues should cheat within some degree of moderation, will find full employment for his faculties. To superintend this tribe of devils and their several departments we have a numerous collection of banyans, chief and subordinate, with their train of clerks, who fill a large room, and are constantly employed in controlling or rather conniving at each other's accounts. We are cheated in every article both within and without doors. . . . . My greatest comfort is to turn them all out and lock the doors. These brutes possess every bad quality except drunkenness and insolence: indeed they make full amends for the first by stupefying themselves with chewing *bang*, and their want of the other is pretty well supplied by a most provoking gravity and indifference."

The Court of Directors struggled hard against the tendency on the part of their employés to entertain many servants and to become luxurious. In 1757 they directed that a junior civilian without a family should be allowed only two servants and a cook,

that he should not keep a horse, or have a garden house, or wear other than plain clothes.

From the earliest days of the English settlement in Bengal, servants appear to have been a fertile source of worry, and to have always been adepts at the passive resistance and the organised combination to injure and annoy, which characterise them to this day. In the old proceedings of Government it may be seen that this matter was often taken into consideration at the instance of the inhabitants complaining of the "insolence and exorbitant wages exacted by the menial servants."

A set of rules were drawn up of a very stringent nature for the mutual observance of master and servants. Rates of wages were accurately defined for each class of servants, and to avoid the market being spoiled by the wealthy or the careless, to the prejudice of his poorer neighbour, it was ordered that "if any master presume to exceed the established rate of wages on any pretence whatever, he shall be debarred all redress from the Court of Zemindary, and the protection of the Settlement shall be withdrawn from him." Servants leaving without stipulated notice were punished very severely.

To show that all the law was not on the side of the Europeans, it may be noted that a Mr. Johnson was visited with fine for striking his servant, and for non-payment and non-appearance he was cast into prison; whence he petitioned Mr. Vansittart for release, urging that he had been three months "rotting in a loathsome gaol, having not the wherewithal to pay or to provide the common necessaries of life." In 1766 it was resolved that an office be established in Calcutta for keeping a register of all servants, but it was soon found that the Europeans would not take the trouble to combine for vigorous action; they neglected to send their servants for registration, or to employ only registered ones; they lazily preferred to let the old state of things go on, so that the servants became literally the masters of the situation. Between 1760 and 1787, servants' wages became doubled, and, in many instances, trebled in amount. The average rates existing to-day are pretty much the same as those of a hundred years ago. The reason for this is probably that servants look as much to their gains from picking and stealing as to their pay. Many functionaries who have a place in old lists have no representatives now, such as the wig-barber, hookaburdar, soontabardar, crutchpurdar (this person relieved his master of the trouble of making actual payments; his pay was four rupees a month; his opportunities may be

fancied), "Comprădor," who bought the table supplies—pay, nominal, *i.e.*, three rupees; power of extortion very enviable. The lady who wielded the broom had her native appellation tortured into the composite word "Harry-winch." Her indispensable functions were appraised at the modest sum of one rupee monthly, or in case of a whole family, two rupees.

It is worth noticing that the designation "punka-pullers" does not occur among the lists of servants employed at the period with which we are concerned. The swinging punka, as in use now, dates after Francis' time in India. By comparing various references to domestic life in Calcutta at the close of the last century, it is possible to fix within very narrow limits the date of the introduction of the hanging punka into India. The letters of Miss Goldborne were written about 1783-4, but were published under the title "Hartly House, Calcutta," in 1789. In describing a dinner, she says, "during the whole period of dinner boys with flappers and fans surround you, procuring you, at least, a tolerably comfortable artificial atmosphere." But M. L. de Grandpré on his voyage to Bengal, undertaken in 1789-90, says:

"To chase away the flies and occasion a free circulation of the air, many houses have a large fan from the ceiling over the eating table, of a square form, and balanced on an axle fitted to the upper part of it. A servant standing at one end of the room puts it in motion by means of a cord which is fastened to it, in the same manner as he would ring a bell. Besides this, there is a servant behind the chair of each individual with another kind of fan made of a branch of the palm tree. The stalk serves for a handle, and the leaves fastened together and cut into a round or square shape give it the appearance of a flag. By these contrivances a little fresh air is procured."

These two extracts show that the hanging punka came in between 1784 and 1790. The following paragraph, which I found in the *Calcutta Chronicle* for December, 1792 (quoted from the "Journal"), makes it evident that the institution was in full swing, viz., "It is not generally known that the punkas which we suspend in our rooms are machines originally introduced into this country by the Portuguese; they are used to this day in Spain." It is probable that the use of the punka was not extended to the bed rooms for a good while after its introduction, and was reserved for meal-times only.*

* Under the heading "Punkah" in the glossary of "Anglo-Indian Terms," by Col. Yule and Mr. Burnell, there is some exceedingly curious and interesting information. Passages are there quoted which show that the true Anglo-

Before leaving the subject of servants, a further insight under this head into the customs of the last century, may be got by referring to the summary mode in which the police dealt with this class (and others) when brought up as offenders.* This will be fairly exemplified by a few ordinary extracts from the charge sheet of the Superintendent of Police in 1778, C. S. Playdell.

"John Kingwell, against his cook named Runjaney, for running away from him and beating another servant who had been engaged in his place. It appears that he had one of his ears cut off for some offence. The present complaint being fully proved—ordered he receive ten rattans and be dismissed.

"A slave girl of Mr. Anderson, Piggy, having again run away from her master and being apprehended by the Chowkedar—ordered her five rattans, and be sent to her master.

"Mooleah, a boy, was apprehended by the Pykes of the 8th Division. The boy has been frequently punished in the cutcherry for robbery, and but a few days since received twenty rattans and was sent over the water never to return, notwithstanding which he has thought proper to

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Indian punkah was known to the Arabs as early as the 8th century! A young Spaniard, in whose company I once travelled, told me that the punka is an old institution in Seville, where it was introduced, he thought, either from the Moors or from Spanish America. The popular tradition in Calcutta is that the present punka was the device of a Eurasian clerk whose duties lay in one of the small low-roofed rooms of the present Fort William, and who one day, being driven frantic by heat and mosquitoes, slung the half of the camp table at which he was writing to a beam overhead, and attached a rope to it, which he put into the hands of a bewildered cooly, with instructions to pull it. If this be the origin of a contrivance to which succeeding generations of Anglo-Indians owe so much, it is humiliating to be obliged to record that the name of this benefactor remains unknown to fame.

* The publicity with which prisoners were punished was a notable feature in Old Calcutta. Miss Goldborne describes the machine in which those convicted were conveyed to prison. "The wheels of this machine are fourteen feet high, and under the axle is suspended a wooden cage (sufficiently large to contain a couple of culprits) perforated with air-holes, and in this miserable plight, guarded by Sepoys, they are exhibited to the eyes of the populace." The following is but a typical instance of what must almost daily have been seen in the Calcutta streets. I take it from an original note kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Belchambers, Registrar of the High Court. The culprit was a poor Hindoo woman—her crime perjury. "Let her be imprisoned in the common gaol until Friday next, on that day let her be taken to the Lall Bazaar and there placed in and upon the pillory for one hour—next day let her be taken to the police office and whipt from thence to the house of Mr. Willoughby Leigh in the Bow Bazaar and back again." This whipping was repeated in public twice more at intervals of a month, and then she was relegated to two years hard labour! Surely all this was, as Macaulay says, "in the highest degree shocking to all the notions of Hindoos." Yet this happened in 1779, ~~twenty~~-four years after the execution of Nuncomar.

come back. Ordered to receive fifteen rattans, and to be again sent over the water (*i.e.*, across to the Howrah side of the Hooghly).

"Captain Scott complains against Banybub for not complying with his promise to repair his carriage. Ordered ten slippers. (It may be explained for readers not in India that blows with a slipper are considered in the East as adding insult to injury).

"Col. Watson against Ramsing, as an impostor receiving pay as a carpenter when actually nothing more than a barber. Ordered fifteen rattans, and to be drummed through the Cooly Bazar to Col. Watson's gates.

"Jacob Joseph against Tithol, cook, for robbing him of a brass pot and a pestle and mortar. Ordered him to be confined in the Hurring-Barree till he makes good the things.

"M. Nottley against Calloo for putting a split bamboo and laying there in wait purposely to throw passengers down and apparently to rob them. Ten rattans.

"Coja Janoose against Sarah, the slave girl of Coja Offean, for running away; it appears she has frequently done it. Ordered her fifteen rattans, and to be kept in the thannah, 1st division, till her master returns.

"Mr. Levitt against Nursing for inducing one of his slave girls, named Polly, to rob him of a quantity of linen of sorts, the above girl Polly giving evidence against him. Five rattans.

"Mr. Wilkin's servants having undergone the rice* ordeal, Golaut, a dye (wet nurse) in his employ, appeared to be the guilty person, and on confirmation of her delinquency she gave the Mullah a silver punchu from her arm, and promised a further reward of Rs. 10. Ordered she be confined in the thannah of the 3rd division till some further lights can be obtained on suspicion.

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* When a theft was committed in a household, it was usual to send for some man reputed to be wise and religious, who assembled all the servants, and on their denying knowledge of the theft, each was sworn to this effect. The wise man then with befitting solemnity took down all their names and went home, he *said*, to pray. To discover who had made the false oath, the following procedure was adopted next morning by the religious detective: Some rice was half-soaked and then dried in the sun, and a tola weight (generally weighed against a square Akbar rupee) given into the hand of each of the assembled servants. At a signal all were directed to put the rice into their mouths and chew it, and then to spit it out on a piece of plantain leaf given for that purpose. All were warned that from the mouth of whoever had lied to the holy man, the rice would come forth, not like milk, but quite dry and unaltered. The theory was that fear and excitement kept back the salivary flow necessary to mastication—an effect, however, just as likely to result in the case of those nervous and innocent as in that of the consciously guilty. When Mr. Motte had a police appointment in Calcutta, this method of detection was so successfully adopted that a set of grave men were kept for the purpose called Motte's Conjurors." See Mrs. Parke's "Wanderings of a Pilgrim," Vol. 1st, where an instance of successful resort to this ordeal is related.

"Hulloder Gossein against Bulloram Byraggee for cutting from his neck, while he was asleep, a gold necklace, &c. On examination of the prisoner he confesses the fact, and being from appearance (having lost one of his ears) an old offender, ordered that he be sent to Mr. Justice Sir Robert Chambers, and that the jewels be likewise sent with him as further evidence.

"Birnarold Pinto against his slave girl Pekeytase for running away; this being the second time of her being guilty of the like offence, to prevent her doing the same in future,—ordered she receive five rattans and be returned to her master.

"Lourmerey, Bearer, against Mahomed Ally, an old offender, for robbing him of a number of turbands, all of which were recovered and produced in the office. Ordered he receive twenty rattans, and be turned over the water not to return on pain of severe punishment.

"Ramhurry Jugee against Ramgopal for stealing a toolsey dannah off a child's neck; he says he was running along, and his hands caught in it by accident. Ordered him twelve rattans.

"Cortib, a Portuguese, against his boy, Jack, for stealing a silver spoon; the boy at first confessed the fact, and said he had given the spoon to a shopkeeper, who, on being summoned, declared his ignorance of the whole transaction; he then accused another person, who, on examination, proved to be as little concerned as the first; in short, Jack appears a complete little villain, and the whole of his account nothing but lies. Five rattans.

"Samah Goalah, confined October 5th, is now released under a penalty of being hanged if ever apprehended by any one." (The "penalty" promised here under such wide possibilities was probably a grim professional joke on the part of the police clerk.)

Here follow four cases which I beg to commend to the notice of modern Calcutta Magistrates:—

"Banker Mahomed against Rumjanny complaining that the wife of the latter abused his wife. It appearing, on examination, they were both equally culpable,—ordered each to be fined Rs. 5 for giving trouble to the Court by making trifling litigious complaints.

"Mr. Cantwell against his Matraney for stealing empty bottles. This she has practised some time, and constantly sold them to a shopkeeper Bucktaram, which he himself confesses. To deter others from following so pernicious an example,—ordered Bucktaram twenty rattans, the Matraney ten rattans, and both to be carried in a cart round the town, and their crime published by beat of tom-tom.

"Mr. Sage against Khoda Bux and Peary for receiving advances of wages, neglecting business and hiring themselves to others before their engagements to him are expired. Each ten slippers.

"Mr. Dawson against his Mosalchee, Tetoo, for stealing his wax candles and preventing other servants from engaging in his service by traducing his master's character. Ten rattans."

How difficult it seems now to realize the state of things which we just get a glimpse of here. Slavery in full bloom; the right of ownership under it being so recognised that its mere plea was sufficient to justify (in law) an English Magistrate in ordering a poor girl, who in running away had presumably acted in self-defence, to be "beaten with rods" and sent back to the fangs of her master.

Some idea may be formed of the ill-usage given to slaves in Calcutta at this time, from the fact that even ten years later, when public opinion was becoming enlightened, the *Calcutta Chronicle* calls out against "the barbarous and wanton acts of more than savage cruelty daily exercised on the slaves of both sexes, by that mongrel race of human beings called Native Portuguese." Most of the slaves were the children of the poor who had been sold by their own parents from their inability to support them.

With our present knowledge it is strange to reflect that, at the time referred to in the police record, a prominent member of the Government, under the ægis of which this great iniquity flourished, was the champion of political and personal liberty, the renowned Junius. It may be, however, that the hateful aspect under which slavery presented itself to Philip Francis in Calcutta was not without its effect; for we find him afterwards in Parliament as one of the most ardent and zealous supporters of Wilberforce in his efforts for the abolition of the Slave trade.*

(II.)

His biographer tells us that Francis had no curiosity about travelling in India. In his voluminous writings he left behind no

* For some allusion to slavery as it existed in former times in India, and to the barbarous punishment and mutilations executed on criminals under the orders of the British Government, see two curious and instructive appendices to Mr. H. J. Cotton's "Revenue History of Chittagong" (1880). The natives of India, however, were not the only slaves there. History and local records make frequent allusion to Africans, called there Coffrees. In the newspapers of 1781, many advertisements occur as to the disposal by sale of Coffrees. One is offered for 400 rupees who understands the business of butler and cook. Some seem to be valued for their musical skill, and dexterity in shaving and dressing and waiting at table. There is an advertisement also for "three handsome African ladies of the true sable hue, commonly called Coffreesses," between fourteen and twenty-five, for marriage with three of their own countrymen. The advertisement is long, and is too often repeated to be a mere joke, though it strains at being suggestively indecent. In all probability it means this, that there were Englishmen in Calcutta a hundred years ago who not only bought and sold African slaves, but went in for the breeding of them for the slave market.

observations about scenery or places. He never moved a hundred miles out of Calcutta, where he buried himself in business and in a most extensive correspondence. "He keeps four of us in constant employment and is sometimes dictating to all at a time," writes his private secretary. The hours not devoted to this were given up to card-playing and to the other social recreations in vogue. Though he was remarkable for a haughty and unapproachable manner, he seems to have had the good sense to cultivate the social acquaintance of the ladies, even of his official foes. "I profess to admire beauty," he writes, "on both sides of the question, and am not afraid to pay my respects to an agreeable woman even in the enemy's camp. In spite of all their politics Mrs. Hyde and Lady Impey are pleased to except me from my friends, and, as I take care to acknowledge their respective merits, allow me, in that instance at least, to be a just and generous enemy. As long as they show me the same countenance they may be sure of the same attachment." He seems to have been amused, too, by the ordinary gossip of Anglo-Indian society, and even to have cynically recorded the petty heartburnings of ladies arising out of that still vital question as to who should call on whom. Of course the problem which most immediately exercised the upper crust of Calcutta society in those days was, as to what social recognition should be extended to the lady who was to become the wife of the Governor-General, as soon as a legal divorce from her husband had been obtained.

The earliest announcement of this lady's arrival in Calcutt is to be found in some curious old letters preserved among the Hastings MSS. The writer was a Dr. Tysoe Saul Hanco who in his later life attended more to commercial enterpr than to medicine; he was in some respects a protege of Hastir who was very liberal to his family. This gentleman died Calcutta in 1775. The letters were written to Mrs. Hancoc England. Under the date April, 1772, he writes:—"I promise give you some account of Mr. Hastings. He is well and has l in the Government six days, during which time I have seen twice. His residence at Madras has greatly increased his fo reserve, and he seems inclined to break through many Bengal cus-toms. This is not much relished by the present inhabitants." (He then enumerates the members of his staff, and continues)—

"There is a lady, by name Mrs. Imhoff, who is his principal favourite among the ladies. She came to India on board the same ship with Mr. Hastings, is the wife of a gentleman who has been an officer in the German service, and came out a cadet to Madras.

Finding it impossible to maintain his family by the sword, and having a turn to miniature painting, he quitted the sword and betook himself to the latter profession. After having painted all who chose to be painted at Madras, he came to Bengal the latter end of the year 1770. She remained at Madras, and lived in Mr. Hasting's house on the Mount chiefly, I believe. She is about twenty-six years old, has a good person and has been very pretty, is sensible, lively, and wants only to be a greater mistress of the English language to prove she has a great share of wit. She came to Calcutta last October. They do not make a part of Mr. Hasting's family, but are often of his private parties. The husband is truly a German. I should not have mentioned Mrs. Imhoff, but I know everything relating to Mr. Hastings is greatly interesting to you."

Again he writes in the following February (1773):

"Mr. Imhoff is going to England. I shall give him a letter of introduction to you: his Lady stays here. As—— He intends returning in the service."*

Whether Hastings' love was "patient of delay" in this instance, as has been alleged, is perhaps open to doubt. But there can be no doubt that his attentions to Mrs. Imhoff placed her in a very equivocal position, to say the least of it, at Madras first, and at Calcutta afterwards, when his late colleague, Macpherson, could thus venture to write to him from Madras in reference to a lady: the occasion was when the condemnation of Nuncomar became known, and when it was considered prudent that Hastings should ake precautions for his personal safety: "Do not employ any black ook; let your fair female friend oversee everything you eat."†

Mr. Percy Fitzgerald in his "Kings and Queens of an Hour," s that the Imhoffs were friends of the Royal robe-keeper, Mrs. wellenberg (the "old hag from Germany," as Macaulay was rayed into styling her in his indignation about Fanny Burney), that through her Queen Charlotte's influence was solicited for e from the East India Directors for the Imhoffs to go to Madras. rancis also writes on this subject to a friend in England, but venom in his letter deprives it of the historical value which it ld otherwise have:

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* I have copied this exactly as written and punctuated, retaining the capital letters of the old style. It is not very clear what the dash is intended for; it is a deliberate heavy line, over half an inch in length, with no full or other stop after it. It seems to me that the words "He intends," &c., were the *alleged* reason given to society for Mrs. Imhoff's remaining in India, but the dash is meant to convey to Mrs. Hancock the writer's own idea as to the real (unmentionable) reason.

† See Beveridge's "Nunda Kumar," p. 314, and appendix B. Mrs. Imhoff could only have been the "fair friend" thus disrespectfully alluded to.

"To complete the character, as it will probably conclude the history, of this extraordinary man, I must inform you that he is to be married shortly to the supposed wife of a German painter with whom he has lived for several years. The lady is turned of forty, has children grown up by her pretended husband, from whom she has obtained a divorce under the hand of some German prince. I have always been on good terms with the lady, and do not despair of being invited to the wedding. She is an agreeable woman, and has been very pretty. My Lord Chief Justice Impey, the most upright of all possible lawyers, is to act the part of father to the second Helen, though his wife has not spoken to her this twelve month."

He thinks it worth while to write the following tittle-tattle in his journal:—

"July 5th (1777).—Sup with Hastings at Impey's.—Long faces.

"July 9th.—News of Imhoff's divorce, and hopes of her marriage with Hastings.

"12th.—The Chief Justice very low. His lady enraged at the match and distressed about the future visits.

"N.B.—The dames for a long time were bosom friends.

"24th.—An entertainment made on purpose this night at the Governor's to effect a reconciliation between Lady Impey and Madame Chapusettin; the former sends an excuse. A mortal disappointment.

"26th.—Sup at Impey's. Her ladyship swears stoutly that Madame Imhoff shall pay her the first visit—an idea which I don't fail to encourage.

29th.—Mrs. Imhoff sups at Lady Impey's by way of submission."

Though the marriage came came off ten days afterwards, Francis's journal is silent about it, so we unfortunately lose his sententious account of the festivities with which it was said, by the native historian, to have been celebrated.

In the vestry records of St. John's Cathedral, Calcutta, it appears that the marriage was solemnised on Friday, the 8th August, 1777, by the Rev. William Johnson. The bride was married under her maiden name of "Miss Anna Maria Appolonia Chapusettin." Hastings is described in the marriage register as "The Honourable Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General of India."*

It is curious that the name "Marian," by which Mrs. Hastings is best known, was not one of her proper Christian names at all. As she was born in 1747 she was thirty years old at the time of

* In the old records, &c., "Esquire" always follows the names of gentlemen who derive the prefix "Honourable" from official position only: this is not the usage now in India.

her second marriage. Hastings was fifteen years older. Francis in writing to his wife shortly after the marriage, says of Mrs. Hastings :—"The lady herself is really an accomplished woman. She behaves with perfect propriety in her new station, and deserves every mark of respect." The Governor-General's wife, however, does not seem to have forgotten the humble pie that Mrs. Imhoff had to eat in the matter of that first visit to Lady Impey, for as soon as ever her position is assured she promptly brings the Lady Chief Justice to her bearings :

"Sep. 20th (1777).—Lady Impey sits up with Mrs. Hastings ; *vulgo*-toad-eating.

"21st.—At the Governor's, Mrs. Hastings very handsomely acknowledges my constant attention to her.

"22nd.—Mrs. Hastings returns Lady Clavering's visit, attended by Lady Impey *in formâ pauperis.*

"October 5th.—Supped at Impey's ; as gracious as ever. Many symptoms convince me that Mrs. H. and Lady Impey hate one another as cordially as ever.

"8th.—Lady Impey *furens* against Mrs. H. worse than ever.

"Nov. 4th.—Sup at Impey's. Explanation with the lady, she swears that Hastings has deserted them. Complains of his ingratitude, etc. I believe their hatred is sufficiently cordial, but there are *some ties* which cannot be dissolved.

"Jany. 3rd, 1778.—Formal supper at Impey's for Mrs. Wheler ;* Mrs. Hastings sends a silly excuse, an intended slight to Lady Impey."

Francis took his share in dispensing the hospitality which was then expected not only from the head of the Government but from the Members of Council also. Twice a week he gave a public breakfast to about thirty guests. This old custom died out in Bengal before the close of the last century, but I believe public breakfasts at Government House, Madras, still survive. He frequently gave dinner parties also where often fifty sat down. The Governor gave very large public dinners on all national holidays, those on New Year's day and the King's birthday being followed by a ball and supper to the whole "settlement."† Over-

* Mrs. Wheler had arrived in the previous month. Francis writes of her to his wife :—"She appeared in public for the first time at our ball in wonderful splendour. At sight of her hoop, all our beauties stared with envy and admiration. I never saw the like in all my life."—She was the first wife of Edward Wheler, Member of Council, and survived the climate only seven months. Her tombstone tells that her name had been Harriet Chichely Plowden.

† These were held either at the Old Court House or at the Theatre, Government House not being large enough. Grandpré, the French traveller, comments, even in 1790, on the poor accommodation provided for the English

flowing loyalty was a very prominent feature of these festive celebrations: "toasts *as usual, echoed from the cannon's mouth,*" and "merited this distinction," says an old Calcutta newspaper, "for their loyalty and patriotism." There is a record of one of those parties (that of 1st January, 1787, given by Lord Cornwallis, who no doubt merely kept up a time-honoured custom) which lasted from two o'clock one day till four the next morning, as the ladies after supper "resumed the pleasures of the dance and knit the rural braid in emulation of the poet's sister Graces (*sic*) while some disciples of the jolly god of wine testified their satisfaction in pœans of exultation." Lord Cornwallis, who led the most abstemious life himself, wrote to his young son (Lord Brome) about another festive occasion when he gave a concert and supper to all the Settlement, and tried to have illuminations which the rain put out; "the supper which could not be put out was a very good one: some of the gentlemen who stayed late, however, were nearly extinguished by the claret. Seven of the finest ladies of the place and twelve gentlemen sang the Coronation anthem, so that on the whole it was a magnificent business."

In the letters of a gentleman who visited Calcutta in 1779 is given a copy of a card of invitation in which Mr. and Mrs. Hastings "request the favour of his company to a concert and supper at Mrs. Hastings' house in town*—a postscript requests him to bring only his "huccabadar." This introduces us to a custom happily passed away. So indispensable was the hooka that at all parties it was admitted to the supper rooms and card rooms—even to the boxes in the theatre, and between the pillars and walls of the assembly rooms.

Grandpré describes all the hooka bearers coming in together with the dessert, each carrying his master's hooka—and the consequent clamour and smoke which filled the room.

The taste for this sort of smoking was commoner with "country-born ladies," one of whom fascinated Miss Goldborne with her

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Governor-General. "He lives," he writes, "in a house on the esplanade, opposite the citadel—many private individuals in the town have houses as good. The house of the Governor of Pondicherry is much more magnificent." It was not till the time of Lord Wellesley that the Governor-General of India had a residence in which he could receive his public guests. The first occasion on which the State rooms in the present Government House were lit up, was in January, 1803, when Lord Wellesley gave a ball with a display of illuminations and fireworks in honour of the general peace. Eight hundred persons were supposed to be at the ball. Lord Valentia was present.

* Tradition points to No. 7, Hastings Street, as being this house.

graceful attitude while enjoying her hooka, the long ornamental snake of which was coiled through and round the rails of her chair. But it extended to some English ladies too; it was considered a high compliment on their part to show a preference for a gentleman by tasting his hooka. It was a point of politeness in such a case for the gentleman, when presenting the snake of the hooka, to substitute a fresh mouthpiece for the one he was using.

Masquerades were a very common means of amusement in the old days; dominoes were advertised for hire, also various female costumes for gentlemen; and evidently the fun raged fast and furious. They generally wound up with suppers, at which in the cold weather, fresh oysters and ices were to be had in abundance. Miss Goldborne says the ice came from "some slender inland rivulets of the Ganges," by which she probably meant to indicate the "ice fields" that were worked near Hooghly then and much later. Theatricals were in special favour amongst Calcutta pleasure seekers, the subscription theatre being shut off from the southerly wind by Writer's Buildings, was furnished with windsails on the roof "to promote coolness by a free circulation of air." The auditorium consisted only of pit and boxes; the prices of admission were to the former eight rupees, and to the latter one gold mohur. The characters were all taken by gentlemen amateurs.* Mrs. Fay

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* Before very long, however, this fatal draw-back to dramatic excellence was got rid of, and lady amateurs took the female characters; indeed they sometimes went further and took a turn at some of the male characters. A Calcutta paper, in 1790, is most enthusiastic about one of these performances, and comes out with an ode "On Mrs. ——— appearing in the character of Lucius in the tragedy of Julius Cæsar at the Calcutta Theatre." This begins:—

> "When with new powers to charm our partial eyes,
> Thy beauteous form appears in virile guise,
> Such tempting graces wanton o'er"—

and then the poet becomes so carried away by his theme as to be quotable no further. Mrs. John Bristow had the honour of being the first in Calcutta who brought lady actors into fashion. She had a private theatre of her own in her house in Chowringee, in Lord Cornwallis's time, and was a finished performer; her strong points were in comedy and in humorous singing. "Polly Honeycombe" was a favourite character of hers. Referring to another of her performances, an admiring critic says, "she went through the whole of the humorous part of 'The English Slave in the Ottoman Seraglio' with a justness of conception and success of execution most admirable. Magnificently decorated by art, and more beautifully adorned by nature, the extravagancies of the amorous Sultan seemed justified by her charms." Mrs. Bristow went to England in January, 1790, and for long Calcutta refused to be comforted.

saw "Venice Preserved" acted there in 1780, the part of Belvidera being taken by a Lieutenant Norfor. The performances were by no means confined to the cool weather, and in addition to the most ambitious musical entertainments, such as the whole of Handel's "Messiah," included anything from "Othello" or "The Merchant of Venice" down to the "Irish Widow" or the "Mock Doctor"—in short, Seneca could not be too heavy nor Plautus too light for them.

But dancing was the chief enjoyment to which Calcutta society in the last century devoted itself. All writers about the English Settlement in Bengal, remark with surprise the insatiable ardour with which this pursuit was followed. There was no special season for it, public and private balls went on all the year round. The cool weather merely intensified the dancing fever, and added to the number of "assemblies" which could be concentrated within the month. "I attribute," writes Lord Valentia, "consumptions amongst the ladies to their incessant dancing. . . . A small quiet party seems unknown in Calcutta."

Minuets and country dances were most in fashion. At public balls it was the custom to lead the ladies out to the minuets according to the rank of their husbands. Those ladies whose husbands were not in the Services, were led out in the order they came into the room, and this was the rule also in the case of unmarried ladies. Country dances, however, were more in general favour; one notice of a ball says that "the lively country dance runners were bounding and abounding." This active element in the dance appears to have enhanced its merits because a professor of the art soon established himself in the Settlement, and undertook for one hundred Rs. to teach any lady or gentleman "the Scotch step in its application to country dancing," and a variety of other steps in addition to "the athletic and agile." When Macrabie saw dancing first in India, he made this note about it: "If splendour accompanied heat, a ball in India ought to be uncommonly splendid. The appearance of the ladies even before country dances was rather ardent than luminous. The zeal and activity with which they exert themselves in country dances is exercise enough for the spectators. By dint of motion these children of the sun in a very few minutes get as hot as their father, and then it is not safe to approach them. In this agitation they continue, literally swimming through the dance, until he comes himself and reminds them of the hour." In fact people who had to make the best of Indian life in the times referred to, seem to have acted up to the belief that great heat, like great cold, is best defied by violent exercise

In connection with this hasty retrospect at a few of the hospitalities and pastimes of Old Calcutta, it may be allowable now to take a cursory glance at some of the queens of society who, in the time of Philip Francis, graced those festive gatherings. In doing so we shall see whether their cotemporaries have thrown any light on their personal claims to this social distinction.

To begin with Mrs. Hastings, and to answer the homely question, "What was she like?" The description left of her by Mrs. Fay will help us. The writer was the wife of a barrister who arrived in Calcutta in 1780; she spent a day with Mrs. Hastings at Belvedere in May of the same year, and thus recorded her impressions:—"Mrs. H—— herself, it is easy to perceive at the first glance, is far superior to the generality of her sex, though her appearance is rather eccentric, owing to the circumstance of her beautiful auburn hair being disposed in ringlets, throwing an air of elegant, nay, almost infantine simplicity on the countenance, most admirably adapted to heighten the effect intended to be produced. Her whole dress, too, though studiously becoming, being at variance with our present modes (which are certainly not so), perhaps for that reason she has chosen to depart from them. As a foreigner, you know, she may be excused for not strictly conforming to our fashions; besides, her rank in the Settlement sets her above the necessity of studying anything but the whim of the moment. It is easy to perceive how fully sensible she is of her own consequence: she is, indeed, raised to a giddy height, and expects to be treated with the most profound respect and deference. She received me civilly, and insisted on my staying dinner," &c.

Another extract from Mrs. Fay's letters will exemplify the deference paid to Mrs. Hastings, who attended a party where Mrs. Fay was. The latter was asked by the lady who brought her "'If I had paid my respects to the Lady Governess?' I answered in the negative, having had no opportunity, as she had not chanced to look towards me when I was prepared to do so. 'Oh,' replied the kind old lady, 'you must fix your eyes on her and never take them off till she notices you; Miss C—— has done this, and so have I: it is absolutely necessary to avoid giving offence.' I followed her prudent advice, and was soon honoured with a complacent glance, which I returned, as became me, by a most respectful bend. Not long after she walked over to our side, and conversed very affably with me."

Miss Goldborne gives us another glance at her:—"The Governor's dress gives you his character at once, unostentatious and sensible. His lady, however, is the great ornament of places of polite resort,

for her figure is elegant, her manners lively and engaging, and her whole appearance a model of taste and magnificence."

Her beautiful hair must have been one of Mrs. Hastings' chief attractions, because when she first appeared at Court, on her return from India, she presented herself in her own simple hair unfrizzed up or unadorned (?) with the pyramid of gauze-powder, feathers, pomatums, &c., then so astoundingly the fashion. This (added to her splendid display of jewels) made her an object of much observation in London society.

The first introduction that we have to the social queen who may fittingly be mentioned next, is in a passage of a letter from Johnson to Boswell (1774):—"Chambers is either married or almost married to Miss Wilton, a girl of sixteen, exquisitely beautiful, whom he has with his lawyer's tongue persuaded to take her chance with him in the East." Frances Wilton was the daughter of a well-known Royal Academician, Joseph Wilton.* We have a slight sketch of Lady Chambers, also, from the pen of Mrs. Fay, who enjoyed her hospitality for a short time in 1780. "She is the most beautiful woman I ever beheld—in the bloom of youth; and there is an agreeable frankness in her manners that enhances her loveliness and renders her truly fascinating." In "Hartly House" she is mentioned amongst the drivers of gaily caparisoned horses on the Calcutta course. "Lady C—m—rs is one of the most celebrated on this fashionable list, and for attendant beaux, both as to smartness and variety, yields to no one."

The wife of Sir John Day was another lady in Calcutta society who was gifted with beauty of a high order, which the canvas of Romney and Gainsborough has not let die. Lady Day had been Miss Benedicta Ramus. I am under obligation to two very pleasant chatty articles by Mr. Andrew Lang, in "Longman's Magazine" (September, 1886, and June, 1887), for the knowledge of the existence of the portraits I allude to. The writer, who regrets that he could find out but little of Miss Ramus' history beyond the fact of her being the eldest daughter of Nicholas Ramus, senior page to George III., and wife of the Advocate-General of Calcutta, says :—"A proof of whose beautiful likeness by Romney came into the market at the recent Addington sale at Sotheby's. The engraving by Dickenson is one of the most beau-

* Mrs. Thrale, in alluding to Chambers, writes, "He married Fanny Wilton, the statuary's daughter, who stood for Hebe at the Royal Academy. She was very beautiful indeed, and but fifteen years old when Sir Robert married her." (Mrs. Piozzi's "Auto-biography.")

tiful things that the art of mezzotint—almost a lost art—has left to us. Horace Walpole's copy of it is in the hands of a collector, and that which I possess belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence." There is a copy of Dickenson's engraving of Romney's portrait* in the print room of the British Museum (published 1779). This represents a handsome girl of perhaps two-and-twenty, with abundant dark hair and beautiful mouth and arms, whose folded hands rest on a volume marked "Johnson's Shakspeare." Another portrait of her with her sister was taken by Gainsborough. Speaking of this Mr. Lang says: "The portrait of Miss Ramus and her sister, by Gainsborough, has lately been sold at Christy's for ten thousand pounds.† The lady looks not nearly so bewitching in the art of Gainsborough as in that of the less eminent painter." He adds that the ladies on Gainsborough's canvas look like Jewesses—which they probably were. In Mrs. Papendiek's "Court and Private Life in the Time of Queen Charlotte" (1887), to which Mr. Lang refers, it is said that Queen Charlotte objected to the beautiful Benedicta being presented to her on her marriage, because of the position held by her father as the King's page. "But when, shortly after, Sir John Day was appointed Governor of one of our East India settlements the right of presentation could no longerbe disputed."

Mrs. Papendiek was probably inaccurate in more than the particular of Sir John Day's appointment. If the Queen ever put forward the objection mentioned, it was more likely got over by conferring knighthood on the lady's husband, to procure which she probably begged her father's intervention. This may be the origin or foundation of an anecdote I found reproduced in an old Calcutta newspaper, headed "Royal Bon-mot." "When old Ramus, the King's page, solicited in autumn the honour of knighthood for his son-in-law Mr. Day, then about to embark for India, His Majesty observed that he had no other objection than the fear of verifying Mr. Dunning's proposition that 'the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished,' for that he should thus turn Day into knight and make Lady Day at Michaelmas." At all events, the beautiful Lady Day cherished no ill-will against Queen Charlotte, because it appears from a letter of Francis, after his return to England, that he was the bearer of a little present from her to Her Majesty at Windsor. John Day

* The original Romney now belongs to the Right Honourable W. H. Smith—so Mr. Lang was good enough to tell me.

† I learned at Mr. Grave's establishment, Pall Mall, that this painting was sold for £7000 to a Mr. Graham in 1873, and that at his sale it recently fetched £10,000, as stated above.

was one of the very few mourners who followed poor Goldsmith's remains to the grave in the Temple: he accompanied a namesake, another young barrister. He died in England in 1808, and Lady Day survived him.

So much remains to be said that the briefest allusion to two or three others, whose claims are undeniable, must suffice. Young Mrs. Motte, the inseparable companion of Mrs. Hastings (at whose house Mrs. Fay met her), must not be omitted. Prior to her marriage (in January, 1779) she was known as pretty Mary Touchet—the very name has sweetness in it—and like her namesake in French history she charmed all.

Of the art of winning and bewitching, so gently wielded by Mrs. Barwell, we shall see evidence in another page.

Of the loveliness of Madam Grand it would be unbecoming to speak in sequence to that of others. This can only be told of with bated breath and whispering humbleness; she must get a chapter to herself.

These few have been instanced from amongst the married ladies who were at the head of society, but whose title to social sovereignty was independent of the accidental position of their husbands. The list might be extended were we to include the known favorites of nature amongst the fair ones still in maiden meditation. Any one of those named would have been a bright particular star in any society. What must the brilliancy of the small community have been which such a constellation illuminated? Has the "City of Palaces" ever since been able to show at one time such a garden of flowers?—if she has, it is a pity that she should have been "without a bard to fix their bloom."

Perhaps the only room now remaining in Calcutta, in which all this grace and comeliness were often gathered together, is the ball-room of Richard Barwell's garden-house at Alipore.*

What generations of exiled feet—the gayest and lightest—have not disported on this floor! The very lamps and wall-shades which were lighted in the consulship of Warren Hastings are sometimes lighted still. What stately minuets and cotillons and romping country-dances long obsolete, have those old lustres not looked down on. Who does not wish that they could speak of the past and its faded scenes, and tell us stories of the merry "ladies and gentlemen of the settlement"—of their laughter and their love.

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* Now Kidderpore House—well worth a visit if only to experience the frank and kindly welcome of Mrs. Colquhoun-Grant.

(III.)

Allusion has been made to the card table as one of the occupations of Francis. High play was one of the prominent fashions of the time amongst the upper society in England. The ladies followed it with almost as much ardour as the gentlemen.

When imported into Calcutta this vice flourished with tropical luxuriance. The games most in vogue seem to have been tredille, put, five card loo, and whist. Mrs. Fay found that "a rupee a fish, limited to ten," were the ordinary stakes at loo; and Miss Goldborne says of whist, "What was my astonishment when I found five gold mohurs spoke of as a very moderate sum a corner." Mrs. Fay says the ladies often found whist very nervous work, owing to the high bets made by the gentlemen over and above the stakes.

Several allusions to their card enterprise occur in the journal and letters of Francis and Macrabie. Thus the latter writes :—

"Sept. 1st, 1775.—In the evening played cards at Lady Anne Monson's, three whist tables and two at chess. Quadrille is little in vogue here. Lady Anne is a very superior whist-player; Mr. Francis generally fortunate.

"Nov. 1st.—Being Wednesday it may not be amiss for me to look at my card account, and see how the reckoning stands between me and the world. I have been losing all this month. Let me see. Pretty even. I am not ten pounds gainer or loser upon that account since I left England. But that is not right. I want money; I begin to love money; and if I can get it fairly I will have money."

Even to gaming Francis betook himself with characteristic energy and purpose. For some time, while playing for high stakes, he seems to have made whist rather a business than a recreation.* The result of his luck, and presumably of his skill, was that his winnings at cards enabled him to leave India with a moderate fortune much earlier than he could have done, if he had been dependent on his savings alone.

Very exaggerated accounts of his and his colleagues' gambling, and of his gains, found their way home, and tended to prejudice

* This passage occurs in a letter which Francis wrote when leaving England to the gentleman who had charge of his son's education. "There is nothing I dread or abhor so much as gaming, and I beg that if hereafter he should discover any turn that way you may do everything in your power to check and discourage it."

him in the eyes of the Ministry and of the Court of Directors. Rumour credited Francis with having won thirty lakhs at whist, and lost ten thousand pounds at backgammon. A cynical friend writes to him that people in England are astonished that men sent out to reform India should have contrived to win and lose so much in a short time, and he sagely advises him, since he has incurred the world's censure, to be sure and keep the money to console him. From his own letters, however, to friends at home and in India, a much more moderate estimate of his gains may be formed. In March, 1776, he writes :—

"An extraordinary stroke of fortune has made me independent. Two years will probably raise me to affluent circumstances."

To a friend at Benares, whom he asked to buy diamonds for him, he says :—

"I have actually won a fortune and must think of some means of realizing it in England. Keep all this stuff to yourself."

To another in England, to whom he remits an order for the proceeds of a parcel of pearls sent home, he writes :—

"You must know, my friend, that on one blessed day of the present year of our Lord, I had won about twenty thousand pounds at whist. It is reduced to about twelve, and I now never play but for trifles, and that only once a week. Keep all this to yourself."

Elsewhere he computes the losings of all at about three lakhs, of which the lion's share (possibly fifteen thousand pounds) fell to him, and the rest to Judge Lemaistre and a Colonel Leslie. It was an accidental burst, he adds, which lasted only a few weeks.

Turning again to the diary of the humorous Macrabie, who identified himself so thoroughly with his brother-in-law's interests, we find who the loser was at whose expense Francis was thus enriched :

"March 2, 1776.—Mr. Barwell has lost again, and we have all won. I told you of his heavy losses at Barrasut. We all shared in the spoil, nor has any of this house declined giving him his revenge. Justice Lemaitre, who had before been a very considerable loser, having recovered his sufferings at the expense of Mr. Barwell, has tied up, as it is called, and plays no more. Colonel Leslie does the same. This a little vexes Mr. Barwell, who is fond of play and will play for anything. We still go on."

With reference to this card-encounter between Barwell, Francis and Co., there is a curious circumstance alleged as connected with it.

There was published in Leadenhall Street, in 1780, a rather stupid and scandalous book called the "Intrigues of a Nabob" (see Appendix F), which professed to give certain details of Mr. Barwell's private life in India. The writer's object seems to have been revenge for the deprivation of his mistress, for whose loss he had received inadequate consideration. In this book, the production of one who represents himself as knowing Mr. Barwell intimately, or at all events as having had ample opportunity of being familiar with Calcutta gossip, it happens to be mentioned, quite incidentally, that so perplexed was Barwell at the upsetting and overruling of the plans of the minority by their newly-arrived colleagues from England, that the wealthy Barwell declared he would willingly part with twenty thousand pounds to break up the opposition, or to bring over one of them to his and the Governor-General's side.

The story goes that he fixed on Francis as the one most likely to be amenable to pecuniary influences, and challenged him to high play in the hopes of getting him in his debt, and so in his power, thereby not only mistaking Francis's character entirely, but, as we have seen, catching a Tartar. This book puts Barwell's losses to Francis at £40,000. Now, though this story comes from a tainted source, still it is suggestive that Francis himself professed to believe that even Hastings once contemplated buying off the *three* new councillors, as the easiest way of preventing them from doing mischief. He writes thus in a private memorandum, which he drew out on the course of public affairs, "He (Hastings) had no conception of what sort of persons he had to deal with. In the first place he concluded it would be an easy matter to gain us by corruption. His experience had not furnished him with instances of resistance; his principles excluded the possibility of it. On this ground I am assured he was prepared to meet us with an offer of a hundred thousand pounds a-piece." In the same memorandum he had previously commented thus: "Europeans, by long residence in Bengal, contract the character of the country, and without the insignia of black faces and white turbans are as completely Banyans as the people who serve them. There are no such men in Europe, for example, as Hastings, George Vansittart, and Barwell."

Of Barwell, Francis almost uniformly writes contemptuously, and attributes to him the very qualities which might be supposed to give rise to the crafty actions alleged against the "Nabob," viz. (Diary, September, 1777): "H. and B. are certainly on bad terms, though they dare not proceed to an open rupture. I have many hints from B., through Mackenzie, of his disposition to buy

Hastings out, if he could be assured that I would not distress him in the government." Again, in the private memorandum, already referred to, he says:—

"Mr. Barwell, I think, has all the bad qualities common to this climate and country, of which he is in every sense a native; but I do not affirm that there is no mixture whatsoever of good in his composition. He is rapacious without industry, and ambitious without an exertion of his faculties or steady application to affairs. He would be governor-general if money could make him so, and in that station he would soon engross the wealth of the country. He will do whatever can be done by bribery and intrigue. He has no other resource.* His mind is strictly effeminate and unequal to any serious constant occupation except gaming, in which alone he is indefatigable."

Nor does Francis extend the smallest pity to the victim whom he had phlebotomized so freely. In April, 1776, he writes to a friend, who seems to have addressed some platitudes to him:—

"With regard to gaming and all its dreadful consequences, your advice is good, and not the worse for being tolerably obvious. It is true I have won a fortune, and intend to keep it. Your tenderness for the loser is admirable. If money be his blood, I feel no kind of remorse in opening his veins; the blood-sucker should bleed and can very well afford it."

Even before the whist tournament came off, Francis conceived a rabid dislike to Barwell, which would certainly warn him against plunging into high play without seeing his way clearly.

In March of the previous year (1775), he had written to Lord North:—

"It is settled that Barwell shall marry Miss Clavering. After the censures of him to which General Clavering has signed his name, and branded as he is in this country by the utter ruin of a province, by enormous peculation of every sort, and by a personal depravity of character of which he alone perhaps furnishes an example, I cannot but foresee, &c., &c."

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* Francis could see pretty clearly through his colleague. In Sir James Stephen's "Story of Nuncomar" is a letter from Barwell to his sister (dated on the day of Nuncomar's execution) where this "resource" is suggested without much circumlocution. "The state of our Council remains the same as described in my former letters, and if any alteration is to be brought about by the influence of money, in that case no risk of private loss should be regarded. Nor must you regard the expense of some thousands to secure ultimately any great object to your brother."

A few weeks later to another :—

"Mr. Barwell in Council supports the Governor, but abroad is endeavouring to make a bank apart in order to screen his own iniquities. He is to marry Miss Clavering, a damnable match, which can produce nothing but misery and dishonour to the lady and her family, and disappointment to himself. He is cunning, cruel, rapacious, tyrannical, and profligate beyond all European ideas of those qualities."

It may be here remarked parenthetically that Francis gives his opinion of most of his official contemporaries with an appalling frankness. This is what he writes to England of another of them :—

"I will not content myself with saying I never knew, but upon my soul I never heard of so abandoned a scoundrel. It is a character to which your English ideas of dirt and meanness do not reach. Nor is it to be met with even in Bengal, even here it excites execration and contempt."

Possibly it is distance that lends enchantment to the view, but we, while reverently contemplating his monument in Westminster Abbey, look back on the man thus described as the great Sir Eyre Coote.

Francis's strongly expressed disapproval of the alleged matrimonial views of Barwell is so hearted that it gives rise to a suspicion that his objection was not founded merely on the apprehension of the General's being thus officially drawn away from him. Miss Clavering, with her step-mother* and two younger sisters, had been fellow-passengers of Francis's in the *Ashburnham*, and it is not impossible that the propinquity and idleness of a long voyage gave rise to a *tendresse* on his side (he was only thirty-four and she eighteen) sufficient to account for his jealousy at the idea of a girl, reputed to be very attractive, marrying one whom he cordially disliked.

Though allied in public matters, there was no love lost in private between Francis and General Clavering. Francis, however, seems always to have maintained kind feeling towards Lady Clavering and her step-daughters, and very friendly relations with them after their return to England. When the General died (only a month or two after receiving the Order of the Bath) and was laid in Park Street Cemetery, Francis records in his journal :—

* General Clavering (whom Horace Walpole, in a letter to H. Mann, calls "the real hero of Guadelope") had been twice married ; firstly, to a daughter of the Earl of Delaware, by whom he had five children ; secondly, to a Miss Yorke—the Lady Clavering of the text.

"August 30, 1777.—Sir John Clavering,* after a delirium of many hours, expired at half-past two p.m , and was buried at eight, in the most private manner. The Governor ordered minute guns. I waited on the ladies and pressed them to remove to my house, but they declined. I attended the funeral on foot to the grave."

It will serve, as well as any other opportunity for gossiping about those times, to mention here whom Miss Clavering and Mr. Barwell did marry. It would seem that Francis might have spared himself his anxious apprehensions, for we learn from quite an independent source that the General had fully determined that Mr. Barwell was never to become his son-in-law. This is disclosed in a contemporary's (Grand's) narrative.

In April, 1775, the General "imprudently and hastily charged Mr. Barwell with malversation in the Salt department. So ill-founded an accusation† drew an instantaneous bitter reply. Mr. B., conscious of

* The tomb of the man who was the first holder of the combined office of Commander-in-Chief in India and member of the Supreme Council, should not be allowed to go to ruin. It might fittingly be the care of the military authorities in India. Lieut.-General Clavering was Colonel of H.M. 52nd Foot. There is very little if any foundation for the romance weaved about his death popularised by Macaulay, viz., that he died of the exertion of being brought *nolens volens* a "vanquished rival in triumph" to Hastings' wedding. The story comes from the Syur ul Mutaquerin, which, after describing the failure of the General to step into the Government in the previous June, and his mortification in consequence, adds :—"It happened in those very letters from home that had caused so much ill-blood, the Governor had received a license to marry a lady to whom he was greatly attached ; and having on that account given a great entertainment, he first of all others invited the General to honour it with his presence. The latter excused himself on his sickness and on the weakness of his body, but the Governor himself, having repaired to his house and by dint of entreaties prevailed upon him to come with him to the assembly, the General made such a long stay there that on his return home he found himself much worse. Unhappily the physician whom out of precaution he had brought from home, and who was particularly attached to him, having mistaken his case so as to order a (certain remedy) against the General's entreaties and inclination, the remedy as soon as it was received brought on a syncope, and the General surrendered his soul to his Maker." It may be seen from Impey's letters that General Clavering died of dysentery. "He was taken ill about a fortnight ago," writes Impey on the day after his death, "returning home from a visit to my house." Clavering's house was in Mission Row, south of the church, next to a large house built in 1775 by a Mr. Child.

† A reference to Mr. Beveridge's most interesting "History of Backerganj District" (page 138) would seem to show that the General's accusation was anything but "ill-founded." We there learn that Barwell held the lease of two salt farms, which he sublet to two Armenians, on condition of an extra consideration to himself of Rs. 1,25,000. One of these merchants

the unmerited imputation, declared that the man who dared to come forward with such a charge destitute of any proof was a——. The General put his hand to his sword, Mr. Barwell bowed and retired. The council broke; and in the field next morning, attended by proper seconds, the former had a shot at the latter.

"Fortunately no evil consequences resulted, and Mr. Barwell, lamenting a man otherwise of such amiable virtues could in this instance have been so injudiciously biased, would not return his fire. His antagonist, suspecting this delicacy arose from a growing attachment which he had observed to prevail between him and Miss Clavering, called out loudly to him to take his chance of hitting him, for, in whatever manner their contest might terminate, the General added, Mr. Barwell could rest impressed that he had no chance of ever being allied to his family; and in the same passionate tone expressed his resolution of firing a second pistol. Mr. Barwell, without explaining, but perfectly confident of the good grounds which dictated his mode of acting, persisted in his previous intention, and thus compelled the seconds to withdraw the hostile parties, professing to their opinion that the point d'honneur had been in full satisfied."

Francis also alludes to the duel, but his strong bias against Barwell manifests itself in his sarcastic version of the affair:—

"The General challenged Barwell, who desired a respite of a few days to make his will. They met on the Sunday following. Barwell received one fire and asked pardon. I could easily collect from Clavering's account of the affair that Barwell behaved very indifferently in the field. This circumstance has since been confirmed to me by old Fowke. He had reason to be satisfied with his good fortune. The wonder is how the General, who is perfectly correct in all the ceremonies of fighting, happened to miss him. Clavering was highly pleased with himself on this occasion, and showed me his correspondence with Barwell with many tokens of self-approbation. It has been since printed."

In the month following the duel, Barwell writes a letter about it to his sister (given in Sir J. Stephen's "Nuncomar"):—"His daughter at one time plays with my affections, if not with her own. I deal plainly with her, expose my situation, and intimate

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afterwards complained that Barwell, having taken the money, dispossessed him and relet the farms to some one else for another lac of rupees. When first called to account about this transaction he naively confessed it, and seemed to imply that he was within his rights as wishing "to add to my fortune:" he concludes, "I can not recall it, and I rather choose to admit an *error*" (risum teneatis?) "than deny a fact." The matter, which was a complicated one, came afterwards before the Select Parliamentary Committee. Burke (in the Ninth Report) is very sarcastic about it.

my expectations from her. Matters are brought to a point. The father then interferes, begins suddenly to doubt my public conduct, and withdraws his daughter. But it is without effect, and having proved me not to be the dupe of passion, he begins to bluster. He threatens me with the terrors of the law—he brings forward a false charge touching the benefits I derived from salt while at Decca. I do not deny the profits I made. I avow them. I always avowed them. They were neither secret nor clandestine, but I object to the conclusions drawn and refute them. . . . . The young lady I sometimes meet in public assemblies, and though I confess a pleasure in perceiving the same conduct and the same attention on her part that I ever received, yet there is something more due in my opinion," &c., &c.

The pugnacity of General Clavering would appear to have been remarkable even in an age when it was the custom to be ever ready with the pistol. He challenged the Duke of Richmond for some alleged reflections on his character in the heated debates at the India House after the passing of the Regulation Act. The "challenge," writes Francis, "produced a disavowal of the words."

After the lapse of nearly three generations, Sir John Clavering's blood became again represented in Calcutta.

Amongst those who had the opportunity of listening, in the crowded Council chamber, to the few dignified and sorrowful sentences addressed to his colleagues in the Government by Lord Napier, on the occasion of his being sworn in as Viceroy on the murder of Lord Mayo, few perhaps remembered that the speaker was the great-grandson of the General Clavering who, abetted by Philip Francis, had, nearly a hundred years before, attempted to violently seize the Governor-Generalship from Warren Hastings.

The Miss Clavering, about whose matrimonial fate we have found Francis so apprehensive, married the seventh Baron Napier of Merchistoun.* She left two sons, the eldest of whom was the father of the present Lord Napier and Ettrick, the late kindly and popular Governor of Madras.

Again, having recourse to the autobiography above alluded to, we are informed of the quarter in which Mr. Barwell became a successful suitor. Let the authority (who, by the way, had much

* Maria Margaret, Lady Napier, was General Clavering's eldest daughter; her mother had been Lady Diana West. Lady Napier died at Enfield in 1821, aged 65.

experience of feminine attraction) speak for himself, as he throws light on some of the curious frolics indulged in by society in the days which we are discussing :—

"In the enjoyment of such society, which was graced with the ladies of the first fashion and beauty of the Settlement, I fell a convert to the charms of the celebrated Miss Sanderson, but in vain with many others did I sacrifice at the shrine. This amiable woman became in 1776 the wife of Mr. Richard Barwell, who will long live in the remembrance of his numerous friends who benefited from the means of serving them which his eminent station so amply afforded him, and which, to do justice to his liberal mind, he never neglected the opportunity to evince where the solicitation had with propriety been applied. To this lady's credit also may be recorded that those who had been partial to her were ever treated with esteem and gratitude. Much to their regret the splendour of her situation lasted not long; the pain of childbearing with the effects of the climate brought on a delicate constitution a decay which too soon moved this fair flower out of the world. Of all her sex I never observed one who possessed more the art of conciliating her admirers equal to herself. As a proof thereof we met sixteen in her livery one public ball evening, viz., a pea-green French frock trimmed with pink silk and chained lace with spangles, when each of us to whom the secret of her intended dress had been communicated, buoyed himself up with the hope of being the favoured happy individual.

"The innocent deception which had been practised soon appeared evident, and the man of most sense was the first to laugh at the ridicule which attached to him. I recollect the only revenge which we exacted was for each to have the honour of a dance with her; and as minuets, cotilion's reels, and country dances were then in vogue, with ease to herself she obligingly complied to all concerned, and in reward for such kind complaisance we gravely attended her home, marching by the side of her palankeen regularly marshalled in procession of two and two."

Richard Barwell's marriage with Miss Elizabeth Jane Sanderson is to be found in the local vestry records for September, 1776. Mrs. Barwell survived her marriage a little over two years, as she died in November, 1778. She is buried in South Park Street ground, where her tomb, though without an inscription (as noted by Asiaticus), is recognised by the stupendous size of the massive broad-based pyramid over it. She must have left two infant sons, as Mr. Sterndale's history of the Calcutta collectorate refers to a registered deed of trust for them, executed by Barwell about the time of his leaving India. His retirement in March, 1780, and Francis' consequent promotion in Council were, according to the

newspaper chronicle of the day, each honoured with a salute of seventeen guns—a ceremony, I believe, not observed now. The last entry but one about him in Francis's journal is "February 29.—Mr. Barwell's house taken for five years by his own vote at 31,720 current rupees per annum to be paid half-yearly in advance; Mr. Wheler and I declare we shall not sign the lease." The house so-called was "Writer's Buildings," now the Bengal Government Offices.

It is not surprising that a gentleman who looked so keenly after his personal interests should have accumulated a colossal fortune.

If it was a fortunate thing for Great Britain that her interests in India, in most troublous and critical times, remained in the strong hands of Warren Hastings, it must not be forgotten in estimating the services of Barwell, that were it not for the steady support of this colleague, Hastings would have been deprived of all power, and early in the struggle must have succumbed to the rash and inexperienced majority.

There is a tendency to assume that the Barwell of Macaulay's Essay was a grave official advanced in years; yet his Indian service was closed when he was little over eight and thirty. At this age he sat down in England to enjoy the fruits he had gathered in the East. I think he married again. He purchased a fine estate (Stanstead in Sussex) and a seat in Parliament (for St. Ives first, then Winchelsea), and posed as a typical Nabob for quarter of a century longer. His Indian idea of plenty has been handed down in the "bring more curricles" story, of which he was the hero. He died at Stanstead in September, 1804, aged sixty-three.

(IV.)

The speedy attainment by Francis of the position of Senior Member of Council is suggestive of a lesson taught by previous and later experience in India, viz., that it is only when young that a tree may be safely transplanted. So impressed was a former Government with the uncertainty of exotic life in Calcutta, that it pleaded this as a reason for not being able to obey orders about fortifying the Settlement properly. When asking for a reserve of qualified engineeers (in 1755) their despatch to the Court urged,

"Experience teaches us to verify the general observation that men's lives, advanced to or nigh the age of forty, are very precarious in such a change of climate from their native country, therefore successors should be appointed to prevent the inconvenience we now labour under." Over thirty years later, when Lord Cornwallis had some experience of the work devolving on the head of the Indian Government, and the strain that it and the climate put on the physique, he wrote to Pitt, "It might therefore be advisable that you should look about for a Governor-General among your friends in the Civil line. Any person with a good constitution, not much above thirty-five, might reasonably expect to be able to hold the office long enough to save from his salary a very ample fortune."*

Of his two fellow-councillors who sailed from England with Francis, General Clavering was fifty-two when he arrived in India for the first time, and Colonel Monson but a few years younger; both succumbed to the climate, the former in less than three years, the latter in less than two. Francis had much the advantage of both in point of youth, and for this reason mainly was able to record, "I begin to fancy that I myself have a very good constitution, or I never could have resisted such a climate and such toil in the manner I have done. My two colleagues are in a woful condition—Colonel Monson obliged to go to sea to save his life, and General Clavering on his back covered with boils. I see no reason why Barwell should be alive (he never misses an opportunity for a cut at Barwell), but that death does not think it worth while to kill him. He is a mere shadow. As for Hastings, I promise you he is much more tough than any of us, and will never die a natural death." To Sir John Day, at Madras, he writes:—"I hate

* This was in 1788, when a mail to or from England was but an occasional event. The speculation would be interesting as to the advice which Lord C. would have given to the Prime Minister could he have looked forward a century, and seen the quantity and quality of the work to be got through by the Governor-General of 1888. The reflection suggests the practical view to be taken of the hot weather migration of the Indian Governments to the hills. If the charge of the higher interests of the Indian Empire, must be entrusted to men old enough to be experienced administrators, and experienced statesmen, such men must be shielded as much as possible from the climatic influences doubly hostile to those Europeans who have attained or passed middle life. When one is called to the post of Hercules he is expected to accomplish the labour of Hercules, and this he cannot, if in addition to excessive mental toil and much anxiety, he has got to wrestle with the climate of the plains of India.

the thought, for my own part, of dying of the spleen, like a rat in a hole. If I had given way to it heretofore I should now have been stretched alongside of Clavering, Monson, and Lemaistre with a damned *hic jacet* upon my heart. I have many reasons for not wishing to die in Bengal."

In Francis' diary is a melancholy record headed "Dates of Facts," in which he has methodically entered the deaths amongst his co-pilgrims to Calcutta. The list is headed by the Monsons, who were the first to go. Colonel Monson died at Hooghly seven months after his wife, who died at Calcutta in February, 1776. Their remains were interred side by side in two similar but separate graves, over which no tomb bearing an inscription was ever erected.* Macrabie writes in his journal :—"February 18. Lady Anne Monson is no more. After lying speechless through the day, she departed last night about ten. The loss of such a woman is generally felt by the whole Settlement, but we who had the honour and pleasure of her intimacy are deprived of a comfort which we shall long regret."

Lady Anne was a special favourite with Francis, who admired and appreciated her cleverness, and her many shining social qualities. They appear to have enjoyed much familiar intercourse from the time they started as fellow voyagers to Calcutta. He records, for instance, that he "was repeatedly assured" by her that Warren Hastings was the natural son of a steward of her father's, who sent him to Westminster School with his own sons, and where he was called "the classical boy." This was just the sort of malicious tattle that amused Lady Anne's cynical confidant. In the recent memoirs of Lord Malmsebury it is told that "Sir P. Francis used to say that he had written memoirs which he meant to be published after his death, which would be the ruin of every lady in society, and have the effect of destroying all filiation, as he has clearly proved that not a single person was the son of his reputed father." Fortunately for society this bomb-shell has not fallen—as yet. Hastings, "the greatest man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name," had no cause to blush for his parentage, or for his ancestry, who, once wealthy, became poor through their

* I took some pains, with the aid of a member of the firm of Messrs. Llewellyn, the undertakers, to identify these graves a couple of years ago. They are mentioned by Asiaticus. They are in South Park Street Cemetery, near that of General Clavering's; they lie near the path west of his grave—two long graves, covered with low-arched brickwork hastening to decay.

fidelity to the Stuarts—from which stock Lady Anne was sprung.* Even if she believed what was so untrue, spiteful gossip of the kind came doubly badly from Lady Anne Monson. Her own young days had been saddened by a romance of folly and sorrow (it is no business of the present chronicler to retell an old story long forgotten and forgiven), which if it had not taught her the charity which is kind, should at least have suggested to her the unwisdom of throwing stones. Lady Anne Vane Monson was the great-grand daughter of Charles II., her mother having been Lady Grace Fitzroy, daughter of the first Duke of Cleveland, son of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers (Lady Castlemaine). She was the eldest daughter of the first Earl of Darlington, and had been the second wife of the Honourable Charles Hope-Weir prior to her marriage with the gallant and Honourable George Monson. She must have been at least forty-five years of age when she left England for an unequal struggle against a tropical climate.

But the saddest entry in his journal which, perhaps, Francis ever made was that of the death which comes third on the list, viz., "1776, November 29, Mr. Alexander Macrabie at Ganjam." This poor fellow took ill in August and was sent to sea—but getting worse he landed at Ganjam, where he lingered till November. He had just been appointed to a writership in the Service.

"The loss," says Mr. Merivale, "of this clever, lively, unselfish and most attached dependent evidently affected Francis very deeply. There is something very touching in Macrabie's numerous letters to his chief during this absence, addressed to his 'dearest and best friend,' wishing him once more all happiness, and assuring him, 'sick or well, I am yours with the truest affection.' He seems not only to have loved his brother-in-law as a friend, but to have worshipped him almost as an idol."

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* Lady Anne would have avoided trenching on this or similar topics in her familiar conversation with Francis, if she had had a suspicion that he was the man who had written this about another offshoot of the "Merry Monarch." "The character of the reputed ancestors of some men has made it possible for their descendants to be vicious in the extreme without being degenerate. Those of your Grace, for instance, left no distressing examples of virtue even to their legitimate posterity, and you may look back with pleasure to an illustrious pedigree in which heraldry has not left a single good quality upon record to insult or upbraid you. You have better proofs of your descent, my lord, than the register of a marriage or any troublesome inheritance of reputation. There are some hereditary strokes of character by which a family may be as clearly distinguished as by the blackest features of the human face." (Junius to Duke of Grafton.)

When Francis had been in Calcutta about two and a half yea he wrote to a friend in England, "My health is perfectly established, my spirits high, and with good management, I am a match for the climate." A year later he wrote jubilantly in the same strain to another friend, "I am now, I think, on the road to the Government of Bengal, which, I believe, is the first situation in the world attainable by a subject. I will not baulk my future; if that hope be disappointed I shall assuredly not stay here . . . But we shall be still young, my friend, with the means and powers of enjoyment." What room there was for congratulation in the result of Francis's good "management" as regards his health will be realised by remembering that Calcutta at this time stood in what was little better than an undrained swamp, in the immediate vicinity of a malarious jungle, that the ditch surrounding it was, as it had been for thirty years previously, an open cloaca, and that its river banks were strewn with the dead bodies of men and animals.

From 1780 and onwards correspondents in the newspapers make frequent complaints about the indescribably filthy condition of the streets and roads, which is fully confirmed by the account of Grandpré in 1790, who tells of the canals and cesspools reeking with putrifying animal matter—the awful stench—the myriads of flies, and the crowds and flocks of animals and birds acting as scavengers. But the sight which must have most outraged decency and modesty, in addition to every other sense, was the treatment to which the bodies of the dead were subjected. These might be seen at any hour while being carried to the river, "slung loosely across a bamboo from which they frequently fall off," or "the feet and hands tied together and when so slung carried naked through the streets." Often the police authorities are reproached in the public papers for suffering dead human bodies to lie on the roads in and near Calcutta for two or three days. The bodies alluded to were most generally those of poor creatures who had died of want and hunger—sometimes of dacoits or other malefactors who had been executed: occasionally of mutilated dacoits who had crawled into the town to beg. In the times of Hastings and Francis, and for long time after, dacoity and highway robbery close to the seat of Government were crimes exceedingly prevalent. This, for instance, was the state of things within a mile of the Supreme Court, as described in the Calcutta papers of 1788. "The native inhabitants on the roads leading to the Boita-Khana tree are in such general alarm of dacoits that from eight or nine o'clock at night they begin to fire off matchlock guns till day-break at intervals, to the

eat annoyance of the neighbouring Europeans. The dacoits parade openly on the different roads about Calcutta in parties of twenty, thirty, or forty at so early an hour as eight p.m."*

A typical instance of the neglect of sanitation at the period we are most concerned with will be found in the condition of their drinking-water supply, the chief source of which was the tank in Lall Diggee (Dalhousie Square).

A correspondent writes in April, 1780, regarding this to the newspaper of the day :—

"As I was jogging along in my palanqueen yesterday, I could not avoid observing without a kind of secret concern for the health of several of my tender and delicate friends,—a string of parria dogs, without an ounce of hair on some of them, and in the last stage of the mange, plunge in and refresh themselves very comfortably in the great Tank. I don't mean to throw the least shadow of reflection upon the sentinels, as the present condition of the Palisadoes is such that it would take a Battalion at least of the most nimblefooted sepoys to prevent them. I was led insensibly to reflect upon the small attention that is paid by people in general to a point of such unspeakable importance to their health and longevity as the choice and care of their water, the great vehicle of our nourishment."

Another writes on the same subject :—

"Should you believe it that, in the very centre of this opulent city, and almost under our noses, there is a spot of ground measuring not more than six hundred square yards used as a public burying ground by the Portuguese inhabitants, where there are annually interred, upon a medium, no less than four hundred dead bodies ; that these bodies are generally buried without coffins, and in graves dug so

* The *Calcutta Chronicle* in the following year gives a terrible account of the example which was made of a gang of dacoits. Fourteen were sent by a Mr. Redfern from Kishnagur to Sulkey to take their trial at the (Native) Fouzdary Court. On being found guilty the following sentence was ordered to be carried out at Sair Bazaar, near Calcutta, on the Howrah side of the river. Each man to have his right hand and left foot cut off at the joint. The victims were taken one by one, each in the sight of the others, and pinioned to the ground : a fillet or band was then tied over the mouth to drown the cries. "The amputation was most clumsily performed with an instrument like a carving knife by hacking to find out the joint : each limb took about three minutes. The stumps were then dipped in hot ghee, and the criminal left to his fate." None died under the operation Four died soon after, but more (it is said) from the effects of the sun and neglect than from "the savage severity which was applied." The *Chronicle* regrets the necessity for such examples, "but we bless God they are not authorised by the laws of England.'

exceedingly shallow as not to admit of their being covered with much more than a foot and a half of earth, insomuch that after a very heavy fall of rain some part of them have been known to appear above ground. . . . . Moreover, the quantity of matter necessarily flowing from it assimilating with the springs of the earth can scarcely fail to impart to the water in the adjacent wells and tank any morbid and noxious quality, laying by this means the foundation of various diseases among the poorer sort of people who are obliged to drink it, nor can those in more affluent circumstances, from the natural indolence and deception of servants, promise themselves absolute exemption from it."

No wonder that the inhabitants on whom these unpleasant facts were thus obtruded took every opportunity of converting the water into arrack punch prior to consumption; or that those who could afford to do so, gave it the go-by altogether by the substitution of mulled claret or madeira, all which drinks were, we find, very much in fashion. No wonder that a most ordinary formula for accounting for the absence of such or such a one from society, was that, in the unvarnished language of the day, he was "down with a putrid fever, or a flux."

Little wonder either that as the close of each October brought round what was considered the end of the deadly season, those Europeans who were fortunate enough to find themselves above ground, all met in their respective circles and thankfully celebrated their deliverance in that truly British device, large banquets. One of them, a poet, who was grateful not only for his own respite, but for that of his lady love, composed, I find, an ode for one of those dismal festivities. It was headed, "On the introduction of the Cold Weather—in opposition to Horace's 'Solvitur acris hiems.'" It begins:—

"The summer's raging rays are gone,"

And ends—

"But cease my muse since she is well,
And Death's destructive season's o'er,
Let's life enjoy nor loveless dwell
On summers that can kill no more."

"The unwholesome weather which ever attends the breaking-up of the rains," is a text often discussed on by the old newspapers. One editor tells his subscribers that he has the authority of a medical correspondent for recommending them to "drink deep in rosy port" in September, to guard against the influenza. This pre-

scription was made public probably because it was an innovation on that in favour with the faculty. In June, on the other hand, the newspapers give the public the much-needed advice not to eat too much in the hot weather, and the moral is pointed by quoting (June, 1780) the recent and awful fate of "the Surgeon of an Indiaman, who fell dead after eating a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer being 98°."

Diseases, too, of a mysterious kind seem to have occasionally appeared and claimed their victims. The local purveyor of news records in perplexity, in August, 1780:—"We learn that several people has (*sic*) been suddenly carried off within these few days by tumours in the neck, symptoms of a very unusual nature."

Possibly this is the symptom alluded to in the following methodical extract from Mr. Justice Hyde's notes. It will be seen that "the fever" was accepted as a matter of course towards the close of the rains:—

"The Fourth Term, 1779, in the 19th and 20th year of the reign of His Majesty King George the Third. Friday, October 22nd, 1779. The first day of the Fourth Term, 1779.

"Present: Mr. Justice Hyde. There were only common motions.

"Mem.: Sir E. Impey, Chief Justice, was absent by reason of illness. He has a swelling of the double chin. It came after he had the epidemic fever, which prevailed here in September and this month, and still does prevail here; but Dr. Campbell told me he did not think the swelling any part of the disorder usually following that fever, but a nervous disorder of the nature of that Sir E. Impey had before he went to Chittagong, which then affected his arm and head.

"Sir Robert Chambers was also absent by reason of illness. Yesterday the fever began with him.

"I (John Hyde) have had the fever, and am not yet perfectly free from the consequences, for I have a slight degree of pain and weakness in my left foot, and a slight degree of dizziness still affects my head."

Impey himself, when referring to his health, tells his friends in England that, "thank God, it is better, but acknowledges that he has to put up with what he calls the 'Cholera Morbus,' once or twice a year." The strangest disease of all, however, was one (not attributable to climate, perhaps) which I find noted by Asiaticus as

having caused the death of a young married lady "celebrated for her poetry and misfortunes;" "she died of pure sensibility," he says. It is gratifying to be able to record that this disease—in its aggravated form, at all events—has become extinct in Calcutta.

It must be borne in mind that in those days there were no changes to the hills for the sick; no sanitaria; no steamers to take them away in the face of the long monsoon. Sickness, the almost necessary consequence of climate, aided by the madly unsuitable style of living in fashion, had too often to be encountered where it was incurred. Nor had the poor invalid the benefit or comfort derivable from skilled professional attendance at his sick bed. Medical science was, as yet, unenlightened; any one announcing himself as a doctor was apparently allowed to prey on his fellow men; indeed, it is hinted in the local newspaper of 1780 that the practice of medicine was occasionally adopted on no better qualification than that possessed by a midshipman, "who handles your pulse as he'd handle a rope." It is not surprising, therefore, to find it recorded that the success attending the efforts of the medical man was not so marked as to inspire the public with much confidence in him. The Poet's Corner contains much evidence of this disbelief in the old Calcutta practitioner, one or two instances of which may be given. Amid the forced fun in the following, which is called a "Jeux d'esprit," can be seen the hopeless resignation to his fate, which must have come over many a man when heavy illness overtook him in India in the last century.

"To a man who deny'd ev'ry medical aid,
When worn out by a tedious decline,
A friend and relation affectionate said,
'Surely never was conduct like thine.

"'Go to Mádras by sea, or to Chittagong Spa,
Get Hartley and Hare to prescribe;'
But still he in obstinate humour cried—'psha!
How I hate all the physical tribe.

"'What are Hartley* and Hare to grim Dr. Death
Who moves slowly, but perfects the cure?
Their prescriptions may rob me too soon of my breath,
And heighten the pains I endure.

* This was Bartholomew Hartley, M D., who projected a famous lottery in 1784, for raising a fund in aid of the erection of St. John's Cathedral.

"'Commend me to this famed physician of old
Who attends folks of ev'ry degree;
Who is staunch to his patient and ne'er quits his hold,
But kills—without bolus or fee."*

It was usual to describe the practice then in vogue as being active and heroic; and of course it was thought necessary to apply it with superlative energy, in a country where experience seemed to show that the crisis was rapidly reached. Accordingly, when summoned to the bedside, it became a race between the doctor and the disease. A certain rhyming formula addressed in the imperative mood to the apothecary, commencing "physic blister," was promptly brought into force, and the patient who had undergone these vigorous and well-meant invasions, was uncommonly lucky if he escaped being then and there "cupped and blooded" into the bargain. It is superfluous to add that the only benefit following this misdirected zeal, was that derived by the apothecary and undertaker. It should be added, in justice to the Calcutta medical men of a hundred years ago, that they naturally enough followed the system in which they had been indoctrinated in Europe—they merely energetically adopted the practice which was the orthodox one till far into the present century. The letting of blood was its panacea. Men and women, even delicate ladies, got themselves bled at regular intervals to improve their blood, as they were told. "Patty has been bled," writes Francis to his wife about her sister; "her blood is so bad that Price says she must be bled once a week for two years and some months?" Even good, sensible Samuel Johnson, who, as Boswell tells us, strongly disapproved of all this periodical bleeding, was unable to impress his opinion upon his own or the next generation. Who has not been amused by his want of patience with Dr. Taylor, whose nose happened to bleed, and who attributed it to his having allowed four days to pass after his quarter's bleeding was due. Johnson suggested other means of bringing about the relief supposed to be needed. "I do not like to take an emetic," pleaded Taylor, "for fear of breaking some small vessels." "Poh," retorted the downright sage, "if you have so many things that will break, you had better break your

* "Doctors visit in palanquins and charge a gold mohur a visit." "The extras," adds poor Miss Goldborne, "are enormous." She instances a bolus, one rupee; an ounce of salts, ditto; an ounce of bark, three rupees. Such a lot of these commodities had to be swallowed, she ruefully came to the conclusion that, "literally speaking, you may ruin your fortune to preserve your life.'

neck at once, and there's an end on't—you will break no small vessels (blowing with high derision)."

Readers of Madame D'Arblay's memoirs may recall that old Mrs. Delany, the valued friend of George the Third and his Queen, while living as their guest at Windsor, in 1785, and presumably within reach of the highest medical skill in the kingdom, was "blooded" for a little ailment, for which in these unheroic days the poor old body would probably have been advised to take a hot footbath and to stay in bed, as she was eighty-six years old, almost quite blind from age, and with much more than the proverbial one leg in the grave! Forty years later still, the half-starved and fever shattered Lord Byron was bled to death at Messalonghi. In spite of his own piteous appeal, "Have you no other remedy than bleeding?" "two youthful and incompetent doctors did their best and their worst for him." "In these days," adds the *Lancet*, "we look with wonder at the medical art which in twenty-four hours could bleed three times a fasting man, then blister him, and finally supplement the so-called treatment with two strong narcotic draughts."

It has been remarked in a former page that Philip Francis, after the duel, was bled twice in one day for a slight flesh wound in his back, though this was towards the sickly season, when libations of "rosy port" were advocated as a precaution by the unorthodox newspaper. It is curious that in the following year, though not in connection with the instance just alluded to, the local newsprint has a satirical tirade against the indiscriminate use of the lancet. Much of it would be quite unquotable in modern days, but I venture to append some verses of it to show its tendency. It is the first local evidence that I have come across of an impatience of the laity under a system which outraged common sense; it is an early indication of a reaction which slowly gained strength, and culminated many years after in the do-little systems of Homæopathy and Hydropathy.

"Some doctors in India would make Plato smile;
If you fracture your skull they pronounce it the bile,
And with terrific phiz and a stare most sagacious,
Give a horse-ball of jalap and pills saponaceous.

"A sprain in your toe or an aguish shiver
The faculty here call a touch of the liver,
And with ointment mercurii and pills calomelli
They reduce all the bones in your skin to a jelly.

"Broke down by the climate, low, weak, 'twould surprise ye
To hear them insist that your blood is too sizey;
If a compound of ills from such treatment you boast,
The plan next advised is a trip to the coast.

"If your wife has a headache, let Sangrado but touch her,
And he'll job in his lancet like any hog butcher;
Tho' in putrid complaints dissolution is rapid,
He'll bleed you to render the serum more vapid.

"Descend, Esculapius, thou Mortal Divine,
And despatch to perdition those Medical swine,
Such Doctors who never saw Leyden or Flanders,
Run counter to reason and bleed in the jaundice.

. . . . . .

"In a very few days you're released from all cares—
If the Padre's asleep, Mr. Oldham reads prayers;*
To the grave you're let down with a sweet pleasant thump,
And there you may lie till you hear the last trump."

The writer of this doggrel looks forward, he says, to singing the delinquencies of the Calcutta bar in a future number, but I have failed to find his muse's labour in so promising a field.

Yet, though life in Old Calcutta involved the exposure to much physical suffering, with none of the alleviation which art has since introduced, it is significant that when Francis sums up his impressions of a residence there, he does not dwell on the active miseries which may be ameliorated, but rather on the passive ones which will be always incidental to, and inseparable from, the life of a European in (the plains of) India. For instance, this is how a man of his amazing energy and his boundless mental resources is reduced to write:—"The waste of spirits in this cursed country is a disease unconquerable, a misery unutterable." "I relinquish my family and friends, and I pass my life in one eternal combat with villainy, folly, and prostitution of every species. If I carry home £25,000 by the severest parsimony of five years, it will be the utmost I can accomplish. I would now gladly accept two-thirds of the money if I could be up to the neck in the Thames." After his card-winning he places his wants a little higher, as the possibility of

* The obliging Mr. Oldham, whose name occurs above, was a very important local personage in the last century. He was the first undertaker proper who settled in Calcutta; he first cut stones from the ruins of Gour. Before his time Bengal indented on Madras for tomb stones. It goes without saying that Mr. Oldham amassed a fortune before he himself was laid (1788) in Park Street Cemetery, surrounded by numerous specimens of his own handicraft.

attaining them seems open to him, but his horror of India is unabated. "Whenever I am worth a clear entire sum of forty thousand pounds secure in England, Bengal may take care of itself. No, not for that fortune would I spend the same two years again."

It is interesting to see how nearly in the same strain Macaulay writes some sixty years later, after an experience of a much improved Calcutta:—"Let me assure you that banishment is no light matter. No person can judge of it who has not experienced it. A complete revolution in all the habits of life—an estrangement from almost every old friend and acquaintance—all this is, to me at least, very trying. There is no temptation of wealth or power which could induce me to go through it again." "We have our share of the miseries of life in this country. We are annually baked four months, boiled four more, and allowed the remaining four to become cool if we can. Insects and undertakers are the only living creatures which seem to enjoy the climate." Elsewhere Macaulay records his experienced conviction that "all the fruits of the tropics are not worth a pottle of Covent Garden strawberries, and that a lodging up three pairs of stairs in London is better than a palace in a compound of Chowringhee."

But to return to Francis. He thus writes to the gentleman who had declined the nomination which then came to him:—"We shall meet again, I trust—I mean in this world—and may I be d—d in the next if ever I venture myself into such a hell as this, with my own consent at least. I certainly am obliged to you for my post, but I fancy by this time you are quite satisfied that you did not take it." To Mrs. Strachey, who had asked him to provide for her children when old enough to go to India, he writes:—

"Dear Madam,—Be so good as to live till I return, and you shall see wonders; you shall see me, whom India has made neither rich nor saucy. I profess to have one or two qualities at least to which this infamous climate cannot reach, the rest is at the mercy of the sun, whose light the moment I can command wax candles and a coal fire I solemnly disclaim for ever. Let him ripen his cabbages and show peasants the way to their daily labour. I desire to have no further communication with him, but to vegetate in a hot-house as a gentleman should do . . . . . And so you have determined that I shall stay in Bengal till I have settled your infant colony for you, and can leave it in a flourishing condition. Indeed, madam, I am not satisfied with the share you have allotted to me in this useful work. I would rather be employed as you are. Leave it to me to provide emigrants, and do you come here and settle them. Soberly and sadly, this is no

market for young ladies; the same heat which ripens the fruit reduces the appetite, whereof the proofs are rather melancholy than pregnant. How long beauty will keep in this country, is too delicate a question for me to determine. You, who can read faces, would see lines in some of them which Time ought not to have written there so soon."

But if the Europeans who went to India in the old days had a hard time of it, they at all events got what they went for—money, and if they survived they returned home wealthy men. In the year following Francis' departure from Calcutta, the Government of India remonstrated against the number of covenanted servants far in excess of the wants of the country which greedy patronage had sent out, and added, "Many of them are the sons of the first families in the Kingdom of Great Britain, and every one aspiring to the rapid acquisition of lakhs and to return to pass the prime of their lives at home, as multitudes have done before them." The modern average official is lucky if, in a lifetime given to India, he can put by a fifth of the sum which Francis sneered at as attainable in five years.

Sir Elijah Impey, after he had been five years in office, wrote:—"I have not been able to lay up *more* than three thousand pounds in any year."

In comparing the conditions of the two periods it must not be lost sight of that, to all the other drawbacks of an Indian life, poverty has in recent years been added. It is not an exaggeration to say that of the Anglo-Indian officials who have got families dependent on them, at least seven out of ten go through their expatriation feeling the pain and knowing the burden "of heavy, tedious penury," till their pensions (which die with them) come. Then they retire as strangers, to husband their means in some country town or village in England, where they hope to find a grammar school and an apothecary for their children, for whom during their long servitude abroad they have been unable to make any friendly interest or any influential connection, such as they might reasonably have expected to make in any other community or walk in life.

A retrospect at the life of Francis in India, such as has been attempted, would be incomplete without some reference to the little that is told us regarding the result of his sojourn there on his home domestic welfare.

Early in life, when twenty-one years of age, he had married a

Miss Macrabie, a well-educated,* attractive girl of his own age, with some of the accomplishments which embellish life. It was a love match, opposed, for prudential reasons, by the fathers of both; but Francis's ardent temperament could not brook much delay, and his self-reliant nature impelled him to disregard the parental prohibition, and to pursuade the lady to marry him without the father's sanction, and when the means of supporting a wife were but slender. And, small as his resources were, he soon found that with a rapidly increasing family he had occasion to be generous, not only to his own father, but to his wife's relations as well. Glimpses at the *ménage* which the struggling couple maintained are got in the good-humoured and sometimes cynical letters which Francis wrote at the time to his brother-in-law Macrabie, then in America, viz.:—"If your sister writes to you by this pacquet you must thank me for the injunction laid upon her, for otherwise, between the delightful occupation of scolding her maids and mending her children's stockings, I doubt she would hardly have found time to think of her relations." "Domestic news is as insipid as usual; children bawling, servants fighting, my wife scolding, your father and mother weeping, and Patty raving mad." When announcing one of the annual domestic occurrences as imminent, he says:—"In the meantime your sister is tormented with only the following disorders, viz., cramp, toothache, swelled legs and heartburn, to say nothing of a perpetual cholic and slow fever; otherwise she finds herself in perfect health. I am well, and live the life of a prince." In after years, when sending from Calcutta a present of five hundred pounds to his wife to buy "diamond earrings or other jewelry you may think fit," he wrote:—"Fortune has taken extraordinary care of me, and I am much her humble servant. She was certainly in my debt, if it be considered how many years you and I lived upon little or nothing." These, however, were the happiest days of Philip Francis' life; so little did the narrow income cloud their sunshine that he was able to tell Macrabie, in 1769:—"I believe I lead a happier life than a prime minister." The letters of Francis to his wife before the Indian appointment testify to the strong attachment which existed between them, and to the winning and delicate thoughtfulness on his part regarding her and his children.

* In referring to one of his wife's early letters to him he compliments her thus:—"You really improve much in your style"—high praise this from the future Junius.

"My dear soul . . . enclosed you will find a bank-note for ten pounds—don't talk of necessaries. I desire you will have everything you like, and so, dearest, adieu." When ill-health obliges her to go for a short change to Brighton by herself, he tries to amuse and please her with such little domestic trifles as this:—"I had little Betsy in my arms this morning, which made Sarah so jealous that she roared with vexation. But I am very good to them both." "The two children and I played together this morning above half an hour on the carpet." When his little ones are away from home with her, he never forgets to ask her to "kiss my children" and to give him "all the news of them." "My sweetest Betsy, I hope you think of me, and that you really wish to be with me again, &c.—Yours for ever, P. F." Again, "Indeed I am very serious when I say I think your absence long, and the prospect of three weeks more appears almost an age. However, if you and the children are benefited by it I shall be satisfied.—Yours, my dearest love, always, and with the greatest truth, P. F." Sometimes he writes to her, "My dearest honesty." The following is one of many similar passages:—

"Words cannot express my impatience to have you in my arms. At seven on Monday I expect you. Will the machine bring you to the door, or where shall I order James to wait for you? To say the truth, my dear girl, I have been dining with honest Fitz and Co., and am not in my perfect mind, but you see that even while I forget myself I still remember you. It is true I am endowed with a most capricious humour, but I am always wise enough to know that I am possessed of the best girl in the world, and that I never could be happy without her. Adieu."*

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* There is plenty of evidence, and some of an amusing kind, furnished by himself to show that during his pre-Indian career Francis was far from temperate. While the letters under the signatures of Atticus, Lucius, and a multitude of pseudonyms prior to the regular adoption of the more famous one, were attracting great notice, Francis on his own showing was leading a jovial, wine-bibbing life. There is but little if any direct evidence of this during the exact period embraced by the Junian letters (22nd November, 1768, to 21st January, 1772), as if, when he became conscious of the tremendous influence which he exerted, and the extraordinary attention which Junius commanded, he recognised the danger involved in forgetting the *in vino veritas* maxim. The following from his letters to his intimate, Macrabie, exemplifies what has just been said:—

"But even if I had anything of consequence to communicate, neither my hand nor head at this moment are in a condition to give it utterance: all yesterday! all last night! an Atlantick of claret! Your friend Nugent furnished the wine, and being one of the company himself took care that it

Soon after he got the Indian appointment, he tells a lady:—"You already know that Mrs. Francis is not to accompany me to India; it is her own choice and resolution, and severely felt by us both. What are five little girls and a boy to do deprived both of mother and father?"

Few of Francis's letters from India to his wife have been preserved. Mrs. Francis's communications to her husband in India were mainly in the form of a journal, which was sent to him at regular intervals. It relates altogether to domestic matters, the progress of their children's studies, their gaieties, and "her own little excursions into a social world for which she was by no means made." It is described by Mr. Merivale as the production of a tenderly attached and admiring wife. "She was not, however, qualified to be a sharer in her husband's plots or a partner in his fierce ambition, nor to partake in his public or literary pursuits; and her simple cares, hopes and sorrows are better left unrecorded." The same biographer tells, with much feeling, how her poor journal is touching in its homely way as it teaches a sad lesson when it shows the gradual effect of distance and the evil influences engendered by long absence on domestic love which had been so deeply rooted as theirs; until she, so absolutely confiding at first in her fondness, is forced to say at last, "I was but too sure separation for seven years would make a great alteration in your affection, and I am sorry to say I fear it has—a very great one indeed." "My political connections with India since 1774," wrote Francis to Sir R. Chambers, "have employed the whole of my life and embittered

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should be excellent. At eleven we adjourned to the Bedford Arms by way of changing the scene, not the liquor, for there, too, this worthy gentleman assured us he could answer for the claret. In short, he answered for it so well that I left him speechless, the rest of the company stark mad: notwithstanding I exerted every possible artifice to preserve my reason I was at last obliged to surrender at discretion, or rather all discretion. But all this is innocent mirth compared to what Nugent threatens us with at his own house next Tuesday. Oh! is this the temperance, soberness, and chastity which my godfathers and godmothers answered for at my baptism?"

Again, 4th January, 1769 (a fortnight before a Junius letter), he writes to the same:—"I am just returned from spending a riotous fortnight at Bath . . While I lived in Bath, in every species of debauch, my health was unimpaired; but the moment I return to this cursed regularity of drinking nothing and going to bed and getting up early, *me voici enrhumé comme un tigre.* I can hardly see, breathe, or speak; therefore I see no reason why I should write any more. Sick or well, drunk or sober, yours I remain." "About a month ago I had the satisfaction of losing a note for ten pounds in much the same way, and with the same success—intoxication."

too much of it" When we read all this, and recall what this ambitious man said of himself in the House of Commons afterwards:

"I passed six years in perpetual misery and contest in Bengal, at the hazard of my life, then a wretched voyage of ten months, and two and twenty years of labour in the same cause, unsupported and alone, without thanks and reward, and now without hope; I have sacrificed my happiness and my repose, and forfeited every prospect of personal advantage,"—we may incline to be wise after the event, and think that though Francis may have gained much money by going to India, he lost what no money can buy, and that on the whole his fine appointment there was dearly purchased, though his nomination to it won him so many congratulations, and has needlessly exercised the ingenuity of critics from that day to this.

It may be mentioned here that Mrs. Francis died in April, 1806, a month or two before her husband was knighted. A Civil Knight-Companionship of the Bath was "the final reward of Francis's fiercely agitated life." He was passed over for what he never ceased to ardently covet—the Governor-Generalship of India. His indignation and disappointment were extreme, though his friend the Prince of Wales, courteously tried to mollify him in every way that he could. Still he was put aside, by his own party too, the Whigs, and Gilbert Elliott (Lord Minto) reigned in his stead. This disappointment, however, was, perhaps, not as bitter to him as that disclosed in these words, wrung from him in the Commons, "I will never be concerned in impeaching anybody. The impeachment of Mr. Hastings has cured me of that folly. *I* was tried and *he* was acquitted." After remaining a widower for nine years, Sir Philip married again at the ripe age of seventy-five, the lady of his choice being a Miss Watkins, who, though forty-three years younger than her husband, rejoiced in being, we are told by Mr. Merivale, "One of the most uncompromising of all possible admirers." Sir Philip was wont to playfully address her as "Infanta Carissima."

CHAPTER VII.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND HIS TIMES.

The Life and Death of the First Indian Newspaper, 1780—1782.

The following is the copy of a paper affixed to the door of the Council House and other public places used for advertisements at Calcutta, in September, 1768.

"To the Public.

"Mr. Bolts* takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in this city being of great disadvantage in business, and making it extremely difficult to communicate such intelligence to the community as is of the utmost importance to every British subject, he is ready to give the best encouragement to any person or persons who are versed in the business of printing to manage a press, the types and utensils of which he can produce. In the meantime, he begs leave to inform the public that having in manuscript many things to communicate, which most intimately concern every individual, any person who may be induced by curiosity or other more laudable motives, will be permitted at Mr. Bolt's house to read or take copies of the same. A person will give due attendance at the hours of from ten to twelve any morning."

We look back now with surprise and amusement at this primitive method of public advertisement in a city then so rapidly striding into importance that in six years it will be the seat of a Governor-General and Council and of a Supreme Court of Judicature. Yet for over nine years more did the want, thus so publicly demonstrated by Bolts remain unprovided for, and not till 1780 did the first city in Asia possess a medium which combined the object of conveying public intelligence in print, with that of promulgating the ordinary business or social wants of its European inhabitants.

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* Bolts was a Company's servant who had resigned the Service and taken to commercial pursuits in Calcutta, at which he amassed a fortune in a few years. He was eventually forcibly deported as an interloper. He became the author of a valuable work "Considerations on Indian Affairs."

Enumerated in chronological order the earliest newspapers published in Calcutta so far as I can trace them were :—1. The *Bengal Gazette*, 1780; 2. The *India Gazette*, November, 1780; 3. The *Calcutta Gazette* (under the avowed patronage of Government), February, 1784; 4. The *Bengal Journal*, February, 1785; 5. The *Oriental Magazine, or Calcutta Amusement*, April 6th, 1785: a monthly paper, in the first number of which "is given an elegant engraving of the late Governor-General, with some account of his life and transactions"; 6. The *Calcutta Chronicle*, January, 1786. A correspondent of the latter paper says (February 8, 1787): "All these papers are now existing and are printed in folio except the *Calcutta Gazette*, which is folded in quarto." This statement is certainly not correct, so far as relates to the *Bengal Gazette*, as this came to a premature death in 1782. It is to this paper that I shall direct attention, as it was the one nearest in point of time to the period, characters and general society with which this volume deals, and as it dates from the last year of Philip Francis's stay in India. The *Bengal Gazette* started on Saturday, January 29th 1780, and announced itself as "A weekly political and commercial paper open to all parties but influenced by none." It consisted of two sheets about twelve inches by eight, three columns of printed matter on each side, much of which was devoted to advertisements: the greater portion of the small budget was made up of correspondence from local and distant contributors and occasional extracts from the news last received from Europe. The paper and printing were very poor. It was the first newspaper printed or published in India.

The proprietor was a Mr. James Augustus Hicky, who was probably a printer* by trade, and had come out from England, possibly under engagement from the India House, as in one of his early addresses to the public (a form of communication in which he was fond of indulging) he describes himself as "the first and late printer to the Honourable Company," and in another as "free of

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* Sir James Stephen in a note at page 36, Volume I., of "Nuncomar and Impey," says that he found in one of Impey's letters that Impey had known Hicky on the Western Circuit as clerk to Sergeant Davy, a well-known lawyer of his day. Certainly the occasional affectation of legal phraseology on the part of the editor of the *Bengal Gazette* lends some probability to his having had an early apprenticeship to its use. But there was a contemporary of his in Calcutta, an attorney named Hickey, a correspondence about whom I have a remembrance of meeting with in Mr. Impey's MSS.; possibly this was the former clerk to Sergeant Davy. The newspaper man spelled his name without an "e."

the Printers and Stationers Company in London." Judging from his editorial notices, which affect a high moral aim, and are variegated with lofty maxims and saucy roughness, he was a very illiterate man. At one critical period of his newspaper career he informs the public how he took such an enterprise in hand, but his explanation does not go back to his European antecedents, but starts with his being engaged in a trading and ship-owning venture. He then states that in the years 1775-76 he met with many very heavy losses by sea—that in the latter year his vessel returned to Calcutta with her cargo damaged, while a bond of his became due for some four thousand rupees. To meet this he offered his all, two thousand rupees, but "the black Bengal merchants proved inflexible." Finally he gave up his vessel, cargo, and all his household effects to his creditors, and in October, 1776, "delivered up his person at the jail of Calcutta to free his bail, and for the first time in all his life entered the walls of a prison." How he got out again he does not say, but he next appears "striking out a plan of industry to maintain his family and work for his creditors, instead of giving himself up to melancholy reflections and indulgence." "With his two thousand rupees he purchased a few types, set carpenters to work to make printing materials, and advertised to print for the public." At this he laboriously continued with fair encouragement from several gentlemen of the Settlement for two years, and then ventured further in the same direction, "although," he explained, "I have no particular passion for printing of newspapers, I have no propensity; I was not bred to a slavish life of hard work, yet I take a pleasure in enslaving my body in order to purchase freedom for my mind and soul." The result of this magnanimity was that he put to sea in another vessel which he named *Hicky's Bengal Gazette*, and "formed a resolution to jog on under easy sail, and by a well-conducted helm to shape his course right between the rocks of contention." There is a copy of this newspaper in Calcutta in a tolerable state of completeness and preservation, from its commencement down to the end of 1781, and there is a still better copy, though also incomplete, in the British Museum, from March, 1780, to March, 1782. The paper is certainly a curiosity in these days, and helps to give a glimpse at certain phases of the contemporary European social life in Calcutta, which could not, perhaps, be got elsewhere.

In returning thanks for the first list of contributors, the proprietor states that "should he be so fortunate in his endeavours as to bring so useful an undertaking as a newspaper to perfection he will think

himself amply rewarded, as it may in a very little time prove an antibilious specific from which he hopes his subscribers will receive more natural benefit than from tincture of bark, castor oil or columba root."

During the first few months of its existence the new undertaking seems to have led a tolerably prosperous and peaceful life. It is often dull and is invariably vulgar, but on the whole it is harmless.

As a newspaper it looked for its patrons, both at the Presidency, and in the Mofussil, mainly amongst the free merchants and traders and the general non-official European classes. To these and to their commercial and domestic requirements the advertising columns are devoted. The editor makes no pretence of advocating native interests, indeed, when he ventures into the region of political discussion, he distinctly holds that these should give place on all occasions to the interests of the governing race.

His profession of faith on this head is very simple, as evinced in the following, which must surely have struck a sympathetic cord in the breast of at least one very exalted member of the European community, who had few scruples as to where money was to come from, when it was needed for state exigencies:—

"Governor Whittal (Madras) has acted with great judgment and spirit at this critical juncture ('Hyder Alli') by compelling the Armenians and rich dubashes to pay into the treasury at Madras a crore of pagodas at interest, a measure truly poltic and justifiable, that those who derive their wealth under the liberality of the English should contribute during exigencies in return for the protection they receive. The banians here who are amassing incredible fortunes by imposition, usury, and extortion, might be made more useful instruments to Government than they are at present; they now in some degree resemble the drones, the rich abbots in England before the time of Henry VIII., that pucca Monarch."

Nor does the editor forget to provide recreation for his subscribers, so there is a little space provided for the literary man, and of course there is the indispensable "Poets' Corner" for the would-be funny or for the sentimental contributor.

A few random selections will serve as examples of some of the innocent and original productions of the Calcutta muse which *Hicky's Gazette* saved from oblivion. The sender of the following calls it a "short poem," and modestly hopes that "the singularity of the thought in the last part of it may probably please some of your readers."

On a lady whose name was Susana (*sic*)

"O lovely Sue,
How sweet art thou,
Than sugar thou art sweeter;
Thou dos't as far
Excel sugar
As sugar does saltpetre."*

This contributor thinks it well to explain in a foot-note that "thou" in Scotland is pronounced "thoo." A less gifted poet, who had not the advantage of being a Caledonian, would probably have satisfied the exigency of the rhyme with a "you," but then the result, perhaps, would not have been poetry.

When the aspirants for literary or poetic notoriety begin to feel that a field sufficiently wide is not reserved for them in the *Gazette*, one of them thus appeals to the proprietor:—

"Shall attic wit be forced to yield
To salted beef and pork the field;
Shall Donald† come with butts and tons,
And knock down epigrams and puns,
With chairs, old cots and buggies, trick ye?
Forbid it Phœbus, and forbid it Hicky."

The following testifies to the many conflicting interests which the distracted editor has to provide for.

A dialogue between the driver of the Calcutta *vehicle* for news, poetry, &c., and a wit:—

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* The Calcutta poets were given to unusual expressions of comparison when moved to sing of their idols. I found in a later newspaper some verses on a Miss Kate Pawson, whose father is referred to in Francis's journal as Paymaster-General in 1780. Whether one of the two verses extracted, which seems to feelingly refer to a personal experience, gives any clue to the nationality of the love-sick poet is more than I can say.

"Let some talk of Devonshire's grace,
Let some recollect Nancy Dawson;
None, sure, for a shape or a face
Can compare with my dear K——y P——n.

The itch, how it tickles the wretch,
The tooth-ache, how terribly gnaws one,
But I feel not the tooth-ache or itch,
When sooth'd by my dear K——y P——n."

† A local auctioneer.

Wit. "Stop your vehicle, Hicky, one minute for me,
And take a small bundle of rhymes to Parnassus;
A draft on the Muses I'll give for your fee—
You must know I'm a wit, and my note always passes."

Driver. "Hang your wit and your nonsense, I'm loaded enough
I'm brimful already of dulness and stuff;
Besides, if I take your nonsensical trash in,
Where the deuce must I put all my people of fashion?

"I've no room for wit, I'm surprised you should ask it;
Must the Circle of Beauty be jammed in the basket?
And as to Parnassus, I've no more to do
With the Muses and Phœbus ('od rot 'em)—than you."

And the subjoined excerpta will show how he did dispose of his "people of fashion." Beercool, it may be explained, was at one time contemplated as the Brighton of Calcutta; a special correspondent there, in the month of May, thus extols its virtues for the panting Calcutta readers of the *Gazette*:—

"We are informed that the following persons of figure and consequence are arrived at Beercool for the benefit of their health and fish:—Henry Grant, Esq., and lady and brother-in-law, Major Comac, Captain Robinson of the Yellow, Dr. Allen (lately returned from Europe), Simeon Droze, Esq., with his lady and son and heir, Miss Burne, an extremely elegant and agreeable young lady,—Naylor, Esq., the Honourable Company's lawyer. And we have the pleasure to assure the friends of the above honourable party and the public in general that they have received the most essential benefit from the salubrious air of that admirable spot, which, we doubt not, will make it a place of fashionable resort every ensuing season, it being proposed to erect convenient apartments for the reception of the nobility and gentry whose constitutions require such refreshments. The sea beach forms, perhaps, the finest road in the universe for carriages, and is totally free from sharks and all other noxious animals except crabs."—*Selim.*

"*February* 26, 1780. Married last Saturday, at Cossimbuzzar, the Honourable David Anstruther, Lieutenant of the Yellow, to Miss Donaldson, of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments." This announcement gives birth to the following in the next number:—

"Thessilia late joined to a modish young fellow—
He was styled in the paper Lieutenant of Yellow,
Which in praise of the fair is much as to say
That with some 'tis the yellow boys carry the day."

Which is followed next week by—

"The Bucks of the Yellow have late borne the Bell (*sic*),
And each week's *Gazette* with their praises you swell,
Which fully evinces the force of a name,
For when green was their facing, but small was their fame:
Then your marrow-bones bend, boys, to that jolly fellow
Who has changed your sad fronts from dull green to bright yellow.

"*April*, 1780. A new Cotillon was danced at the last Harmonic to the great wonder and astonishment of many of the spectators. It is universally allowed that this exhibition was infinitely superior to anything known here of late. The merit of this performance is principally attributed to three young ladies lately arrived."

Had the paper only continued as it began, it might in no very long time have grown into something better, but it soon took to catering for the lowest tastes, and gradually went from bad to worse in this objectionable direction, and admitted contributions which, while hypocritically affecting to teach and uphold public and private morality, in reality pandered to the impulses of the prurient and the vicious. Thus many dreary chapters (each ending with a "to be continued"*) are stuffed with the autobiography of one who is styled "a late very extraordinary man," which is simply the unsavoury details of the alleged progress in the vulgarest vices, of a typical young scoundrel who had not one redeeming feature. Later on, subjects are clumsily paraded which are utterly unfit for public discussion, the introduction of which could have had but one motive. So running through several numbers, in each succeeding one of which the raiment of decorum and modesty is offensively raised a little higher, is a florid essay entitled, "Thoughts on the Times, but chiefly on the profligacy of our women and its causes." This is unctuously addressed "to every parent, husband, and modest woman in the three kingdoms." One part treats of "The folly and bad tendency of a fashionable life," another of the "Evils that arise from French refinement," a third denounces the employment of obstetric physicians (less technical language, however, is used) as "tending to destroy the peace of families and endanger virtue"—in this large capitals are used to emphasize the most indelicate allusions, to the violation of all decency. The dulness of these diatribes is profound; as literary compositions they are execrable.

* A grateful correspondent congratulates Mr. Hicky himself, while calling him "the papa of the press," as being "the composer of the entertaining history with which you have favoured the world under the signature 'To be Continued.'"

The trail of the serpent is too visible, if only in the companionship provided for them, viz., short paragraphs and rhyming contributions reeking with jocular indecency and obscenity that no English newspaper could now venture even to paraphrase, and when we read what has been admitted we can only guess what has been proffered and rejected, from a pharisaical notice like this among the answers to correspondents:—"Lothario's letter and poetry is received, but is not fit for insertion, nor will anything ever be inserted in the *Bengal Gazette* that can possibly give offence to the ladies."

But if the *Bengal Gazette* had contented itself with being characterised by dulness and want of decency, it might in that tolerant age have gradually passed away into obscurity; its proprietor, however, soon discovered that a certain section of the public always craves for items of local personal news: accordingly these are provided tentatively at first, but when the managerial troubles (to be presently described) came on, the weekly pabulum for the subscribers becomes more and more highly seasoned with personalities, all, no doubt, intended to be more or less funny.

A fresh stimulus was given in this direction by the entrance of another newspaper on the scene before the first had been a year old. The rival was started by a Mr. Peter Read (a salt agent) and Mr. B. Messinck, who had something to do with theatrical speculation or proprietorship. For the purpose of ridicule and abuse they are always referred to by Hicky as "Peter Nimmuck" (or Obadiah Broadbrim) and "Barnaby Grizzle," and their paper, the *India Gazette,* is by him nicknamed the "Monitorial Gazette," in allusion to a weekly contribution in it from Read, signed "Monitor," which went on for some months. This contribution ceased, owing, it was asserted in Hicky, to Grizzle having been detected cheating Nimmuck, which led to the withdrawal of the latter from the joint undertaking. Its disappearance was hoped to prelude the collapse of the new paper, and was notified by a pæan in the *Bengal Gazette,* where more than the usual raillery, vituperation, and indecency did duty for triumphant humour.

A grievance in connection with the new paper was that the type for its production were got by purchase from the venerable missionary, Kiernander. This is too suitable an opportunity for reproof for Mr. Hicky to pass over. Accordingly he appeals to the aged pastor as "that man whose eve of life is fast verging to the shadow of death, whose silver head bows down loaded with

the blossoms of the grave, and whom the sepulchre is already yawning to close upon."* He attacks him with the spiritual weapons which he thinks most appropriate to the circumstances, as directed against a clergyman, and batters him with texts of Scripture, the burden of his remonstrance being that the plant and type were sent out for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, and not to be used for taking the bread out of the mouths of a "true-born Englishman and his little family." But the unkindest cut of all felt in regard to the rival newspaper was that certain privileges in connection with the Post-office were, as alleged by Hicky, conceded to it. In commenting on this, he asserts that he, too, could have had similar concessions if, as he had been advised by a leading public man (his alleged "dialogue" with whom he gives verbatim), he had gone the right way about it, viz., to solicit Mrs. Hastings, who had given out that she was ready for such solicitation, but that Mr. Hicky declined to do so, as he thought "There was something so sneaking and treacherous in going clandestinely to fawn and take advantage of a good-natured woman to draw her into a promise to getting that done which I know would be highly improper to ask her husband, though his unbounded love for his wife would induce him to comply with, &c., &c." This and much more in a similar strain. Impudence directed against his wife was probably the only aggression coming from such a quarter which would have claimed the notice, or aroused the indignation of the Governor-General. Whether the liberty thus publicly taken with Mrs. Hastings' name produced, or only precipitated the following order of Government, which came

* The Revd. John Zachariah Kiernander provokingly survived this appeal for nineteen years, dying in Calcutta in 1799, aged 88, after a residence in India of sixty years. He was a Swede, and the first Protestant missionary sent to Bengal, where he arrived from Southern India in 1758. He had not been long in Calcutta when he "lost his lady," but, continues the precise *Asiaticus*, "he had the fortitude not to give himself up to vain lamentations; on the succeeding year the remembrance of all former sorrows was obliterated in the silken embraces of opulent beauty." The adjective qualifying this last word must not be understood in the physical (or Gallic) sense, but in the pecuniary, as we read that the missionary was afterwards able to drive about Calcutta in a four in-hand and to give banquets, thereby making the judicious grieve. It is stated in Marshall's Christian Mission that Kiernander "ogled from the pulpit with two fat and rich ladies of his congregation," and married them. But it should not be forgotten that he devoted much of his wealth to the cause of Christianity, and built a church and school at his own expense. This he named Beth-Tephillah (the House of Prayer); to-day it is known as the "Old Mission Church."

out before the next issue of the offending newspaper, it is more than likely that Hastings himself was the promoter of it.

"*Fort Wm.*, 14*th Nov.*, 1780.—Public notice is hereby given that as a weekly newspaper called the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*, printed by J. A. Hicky, has lately been found to contain several improper paragraphs tending to vilify private characters and to disturb the peace of the Settlement, it is no longer permitted to be circulated through the channel of the General Post Office."

To deny even a prepaid passage through the Post office, and so deprive it of all present or prospective subscribers up country, was a measure well calculated to strangle a struggling newspaper; more especially if, as the elder paper complained, a free passage was at the same time given to its rival. When we take into consideration the jealousy and irritation natural under the circumstances, and that apparently no warning as to the consequence which would ensue if the alleged vilification did not cease, was given to Hicky before this highly penal blow was struck, it must be allowed that he was not given very much rope.

It would be interesting to know what Francis thought of this high handed proceeding. Under many Latin *aliases*, he had been in England the eloquent upholder of freedom of speech and liberty of the Press, "that just prerogative of the people." Did he now oppose, or did he assent to the issue of this order from a Council of which he was the senior member? He must have winced when he found the *Bengal Gazette*, in the very first protest that it had an opportunity of making, appealing to the authority of Junius thus: "Comparison between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Hicky. The case of Mr. Hicky is exactly similar to that of Mr. Wilkes; the one standing up for the liberty of the Press, the other for that of the subject. Junius makes the following just and elegant remark on the oppression of Mr. Wilkes, 'that the rays of Royal indignation tended rather to illumine than to destroy the persecuted object of it,' &c., &c."

But though nominally a member of the Government still, the sun of Francis' power in Calcutta had just at this time set for ever. He had virtually acknowledged that he could no longer contend against the stronger will, and the subtlety and tenacity of purpose of his great antagonist, when he confided but a few days before, the last entry but one to his Indian journal.

"*Nov. 2nd*, 1780.—Governor moves that Mr. Rider (who returned with his rank some months ago, and to succeed to the first vacancy in

the Board of Trade) shall be allowed the full salary of that office from his arrival till he succeeds Agreed. Yet nothing, I believe, can be more improper *Mais qu'importe?* When the ship is sinking, what does it signify how soon we eat up the provisions? The moment I shall have made my exit, enter desolation."

The despairing tone of these words may fitly be contrasted with that of exulting resolution in some sentences of a remarkable letter, written by Hastings to a friend in England in the following week, viz. :—

" . . . Mr. Francis has announced his intention to leave us. His departure may be considered as the close of one complete period of my political life and the beginning of a new one. . . . I shall have no competitor to oppose my designs, to encourage disobedience to my authority, to excite and foment popular odium against me. In a word, I shall have power, and I will employ it."

Four days later the official thunderbolt was launched against the *Bengal Gazette.*

There is another point in connection with Francis and this newspaper which invites conjecture. Though he was a year in Calcutta with it, neither then nor afterwards does he ever fall under its ribaldry: it cannot be said that his conduct was uniformly so immaculate as never to afford an opportunity for the moral platitudes so dear to Hicky; occasions which would fairly justify public comment are either not availed of or are employed in his favour. He almost alone amongst the official leaders of society is dealt gently with.

It is pointed out in Francis' memoirs that even he himself evinced a tenderness about putting on record a defeat of his own; and it is shown as a conspicuous instance of this that in his diary for June, 1777, where many personal and official matters are chronicled, he passes by the nineteenth, the day on which the attempt was made to oust Hastings from the Governor-Generalship, and no mention is made of so momentous an occurrence in which Clavering and Francis were so signally discomfited.

A notable instance of suppression regarding another defeat of Francis' may be found in *Hicky's Gazette.* The duel of Hastings occurred on Thursday, 17th August, 1780. The next number of the *Gazette* is for the week commencing on the following Saturday, 19th. The copy of this number in the British Museum is quite perfect (that in Calcutta has been mutilated); still there is no allusion in it whatever to the duel which occurred only two days previously between the two highest personages in the Government.

Yet we may infer that Hicky's readers would have relished such a *bonne bouche* when we find him serving up in the very next number a vulgar morsel like this: "A few days ago a dispute arose between two young gentlemen not many miles from Serampore about a lady of a sooty complexion. The friends of both were under some apprehension that a duel would have been the consequences, but it happily ended in a reciprocal bastinado."

Mrs. Fay, writing from Calcutta in this very year, says :—"Mr. Francis is highly respected here." Very probably his pronounced hostility to Hastings and His Majesty's Judges was in itself a strong recommendation to the *Bengal Gazette*; but there was, perhaps, a further reason for the singular immunity noticed. He himself, as proved by his pseudonymous writings in England, could be when he liked master of the whole gamut of vulgar abuse,—he had shown himself an adept in the coarse personalities which disgraced the political controversies of the time.* He knew the pain thus inflicted, and shrunk from it in his own person as the surgeon dreads the knife, and the flogger the lash—so it is not unreasonable to surmise that he, who his biographer says had all his life been a controller of the secret influence of the press, contrived means of securing the mute forbearance of the scurrilous Hicky.

But to return to the proprietor of the *Bengal Gazette*. He did not faint in the day of adversity; he was very wrath at the action of Government which caused him an immediate loss of four hundred rupees monthly. Nevertheless, he was nothing daunted. Writing in the first transports of his indignation, he says: "Before he will bow, cringe, or fawn to any of his oppressors, was the whole sale of his paper stopped, he would compose ballads and sell them through the streets of Calcutta as Homer did. He has now but three things to lose: his honour in the support of his paper,—his liberty and his life; the two latter he will hazard in defence of the former, for he is determined to make it a scourge of all schemers and leading tyrants; should these illegally deprive him of his liberty and confine him in a jail, he is determined to print there with every becoming spirit suited to his case and the deserts of his oppressors." "Shall I," he asks in an address to the public, "tamely submit to the yoke of slavery and wanton oppression?—no, my case and complaints in my own newspaper shall be conveyed to the foot of the throne of Great Britain, and the breach of

* Anti-Sejanus, held with good reason to be Francis (Junius), had caricatured the physical infirmities of the great Pitt.

my privilege as Freeman of the first city in the British Empire shall also be presented in my own newspaper to the Father of the City, the *Chamberlain** of the City of London. He will soon feel for my case, bearing so strong an affinity to his own, and without doubt he will sympathise more strongly when he considers where I am and who I have got to to deal with."

Henceforth, all the worst features of the *Bengal Gazette* become exaggerated; personality assumes intolerable licence; many who are conspicuous in official or social life are assailed in terms indicative of malicious hostility, while the more prominent amongst them are given up to public odium and contempt veiled under the most obvious nicknames; frequently these latter derive their significance from infirmities either real or attributed, which are jocularly referred to in the most cowardly and indelicate manner. Private individuals who incurred the displeasure of the Editor or contributors, are held up to derision in the poets' corner, in spite of the ethics paraded in the following rebuke:—

"Trim's poetry is received, but cannot be inserted, as it seems to abound more with rancour and private pique than with innocent mirth and jocularity."

Similarly a portion of another correspondent's letter relating to ladies is suppressed, while the following exposition of the Editor's sentiments on this interesting topic is thus set out:—

"Mr. Hicky begs leave to say that he is of opinion that the greatest blessing that his sex enjoys in this savage part of the globe, is the refined and delicate conversation of his fair countrywomen; cheered and animated by their heavenly smiles, we are made ample amends for the intemperance of the climate; was it not for them we should be unpolished and brutish; to them alone we stand indebted for all those noble refinements of our manners."

Nevertheless, ladies in society are not spared public mention in the *Bengal Gazette*, though, as a rule, they are spoken of with what is intended to be approbation.

They are generally designated by their initials, or occasionally by some peculiarity of dress. Under the heading "Bon Ton" their graces and attractions (and in some instances even their matrimonial successes or prospects) are dealt freely with. They are watched

* Jack Wilkes, who after a chequered career of sturdy "patriotism" and defiance of law and order, and after passing through the phases of demagogue and martyr, had settled down into the above peaceable and lucrative post.

at the public balls or festive gatherings, or on "the course;" and the progress which certain gentlemen seem to make in ingratiating themselves, is frankly commented on with congratulation or disapproval, according as the gentlemen may happen to be on friendly or on hostile terms with the *Bengal Gazette*. Poetasters, also, are enlisted in their behalf, and their charms are duly complimented in limping verses, entitled "song" or "ode," or even "epithalamium," which, like most of the contributions, either in rhyme or prose from this out, it is easier and more becoming to allude to generally than to exemplify by selection. But though one is precluded from bringing before modern readers the most striking examples of those sins against decorum and good taste, without enfeebling them by expurgation, still a few instances of the least offensive of them must be culled to justify what has been said, and to give an idea of this old newspaper which it would be otherwise impossible to convey.

"In a few days Edward Hay, Esq., Secretary of State for the Southern Department, is to be married to Miss Wagstaffe, a most beautiful, amiable, and highly accomplished young lady—sister-in-law to Colonel Morgan—a lady endowed with every elegant requisite to render the marriage state (what it was intended to be) a scene of ecstatic joy and felicity."

"Married, at Madras, Mr. Richard Newland to Miss Cuthbert, of the same place, with a fortune of 4000 star pagodas and Mr. Cuthbert's friendship, who intends giving him the rice contract that Mr. Ferguson lately had; the lady is well accomplished."

With the view of retaining some connexion in the necessary extracts, and of possibly so lending them more interest or amusement, the simplest plan perhaps will be to confine the selection to those referring to a young lady who came in for the most prominent notice from the contributors to Hicky's paper, on whom she seems to have made the deepest impression. To maintain continuity it will be necessary to introduce a few extracts which did not appear till a period somewhat later than that at which we have yet arrived. This social star was a Miss Emma Wrangham: more than the name I regret that I cannot give—it does not occur amongst the military or civil official lists of the time. She occasionally went on visits to friends at Chinsura. She evidently was the belle of Calcutta while Hicky chronicled its social doings. Her youth and beauty, her graceful accomplishments, her dress, and the merry indifference to the wounds these arrows inflicted, were a favourite theme in Hicky's columns. When not alluded to under

her christian name or initials, she is spoken of, with reference apparently to the most killing feature of her attire, as "Turban Conquest" or "Hooka Turban," sometimes as the "St. Helena Filly," or the "Chinsura Belle, or Beauty." Amongst the satellites who most assiduously revolved round this luminary, and for whom also Hicky had nicknames, were a Mr. Livius ("Idea George" or "Titus"); he was a *protégé* of Francis, who had got him made military storekeeper; a barrister named Davis ("Counsellor Feeble"), a Mr. Milton (?), who was not limited to one nickname, his least objectionable one, however, was "Jack Paradise Lost;" a fourth was an official in the Board of Trade whose name was probably Taylor, as he is called "Durgee," often "Peegdany Durgee." Hicky held this last gentleman in abhorrence, for no better reason seemingly than that, while ostensibly one of the young lady's guardians, he suffered much extremity from love, and aspired to a tenderer relation. It is with one or more of this quartette that Miss Wrangham's name is most frequently associated, and to whom the allusions in the following extracts refer:—

Ode on the birthday of Miss W——m, by J. Durgee:—

"Celestial nine assist my lay
With all your native fire,
To sing fair Emma's natal day
My humble Muse inspire.
'Tis now just eighteen years ago
Since the sweet maid was born,' &c. &c.

But the homage she commanded was not confined to Europeans; even the natives were anxious to signify their devotion to this young lady, for it is recorded that Rajah Nobkissen gave a *nâtch* and magnificent entertainment (in August, 1781) "in commemoration of Miss Wrangham's birthday," at which, after supper, there was a ball, which was opened by Mr. Livius and Miss Wrangham in the characters of "Apollo and Daphne," "and when the minuets were ended, country dances struck up and continued till past three in the morning." When the Rajah was conducting his fair guest to her carriage he gracefully thanked her "for having illuminated his house with her bright appearance." Dancing was one of her strong points. Under the heading of "Intelligence Extraordinary," Hicky announces that at a ball at Chandernagore (January, 1782)—

"Many very graceful minuets were walked by the beauties of the age, amongst whom the inimitable Miss W—— excelled in every step

and motion, and so minutely graceful was that young lady, and so charmingly easy in the Minuet de la Cœur, that the pen must inevitably fail that pretends to do her justice by description. Suffice it to say, that a band of music might have been led with the exactest time by the motion of her foot."

A correspondent, signing himself "Trim," is thus censorious about another of her strong points in a verse "on the present mode of dress—humbly inscribed to a certain fair damsel:"—

> *"If Eve in her innocence could not be blamed,
> Because going naked she was not ashamed,
> Whoe'er views the ladies, as ladies now dress,
> That again they grow innocent sure will confess.
> And that artfully, too, they retaliate the evil—
> By the devil once tempted, *they* now tempt the devil."

We may fancy what a crowd of suitors must have sighed to this highly-favoured beauty in the Calcutta of a hundred years ago. One poet sends a "Recipe to soften the heart of Miss W——," while, on the contrary, "A matron of great experience to Miss W——" counsels her *not* to marry, and coarsely conveys sentiments which in more quotable language were sung for our great grandmothers by Mrs. Cibber on the English stage in "The Way to Keep Him," in Garrick's song, commencing—

> "Ye fair married dames who so often deplore
> That a lover once blest is a lover no more."

And the counsel would seem to have some point, for in "'Bon Ton Intelligence" the *Gazette* tells its anxious readers, "The celebrated beauty has again, we hear, refused Idea G——. It is true there is a little disparity between the parties, yet there are few ladies in her situation who would have declined the offer on that account, or would have thought it could have counter-balanced a settlement of £20,000. The truth is Counsellor Feeble has capered her out of her senses."

The next allusion suggests that two of her rival lovers soon came to blows about her, viz., "Turban Conquest has been advised by her chota guardian, 'Peegdany Durgee,' to remain a few weeks longer at Chinsura in order to let the personal fracas respecting her between (here follow two unquotable aliases for Mr. Paradise Lost and Mr.

* In culling from the "Poet's Corner," I have assumed to be original whatever I may not remember to have met with elsewhere myself. I am very conscious what a fallacious plan this may be.

Feeble) blow over. It is hoped the hue of Holland will melliorate her manners, for she has hitherto shown too much vivacity." A month later a paragraph tells that "A marriage is now much talked of between Counsellor Feeble and the Chinsura belle." And the rival aspirants are thus addressed: "Ye witlings, give o'er; the contest is vain, for Emma has chose for her partner a swain whom fancy and reason approve, who laughs to behold you, &c., &c." Two months after (February, 1782) it is announced that "On Thursday last" she "was united in the sacred and indissoluble tie to the elegant Jack Paradise Lost" (to the undisguised chagrin of the truant trio, 'Idea G'—Feeble and Durgee). This, however, was contradicted in the next issue. Whom this young lady, who thus strutted her hour so gaily on the Old Calcutta stage, did eventually consent to make happy I do not know, nor do the vestry records let us into the secret. I find in the *Calcutta Gazette*, September, 1784, the marriage of a Captain Dundas and Miss Wrangham recorded; possibly the bride was "Turban Conquest, the Chinsura belle"?

It may have been only as a means of keeping up an interest in his paper and himself that the Editor startled his subscribers with this announcement one morning in April, 1781:—

"Mr. Hicky thinks it a duty incumbent on him to inform his friends in particular and the public in general that an attempt was made to assassinate him last Thursday morning, between the hours of one and two o'clock, by two armed Europeans assisted by a Moorman."

Having thus aroused curiosity, he details the circumstances in next week's number, making rather a cock and-bull story of it, and wishing his readers to understand that he has become so pestilent to Government as a public censor, that they resorted to assassination in order to get rid of him. Then follows what he calls:—

"Reflections in consequence of the late attempt made to assassinate the printer of the Original *Bengal Gazette*.

"Mr. Hicky verily believes that fate decreed that he should come out to India to be a Scourge to Tyrannical Villains, and upstart Schemers and Embezllers of the Company's property, Stainers of the British flag and Disgracers of the English name; and notwithstanding the repeated attempts which have been made for his destruction, Mr. Hicky is determined to go on and persevere with redoubled confidence in his plan, unawed by the frowns of arbitrary Tyrants in Power, &c., &c."

But Hastings and Impey were, above all others, the target for Hicky's most poisoned missles; and bitterly did they pay him out when the time came to strike. The Governor-General he aimed at and insulted through Mrs. Hastings chiefly; Impey he stung by nicknames and allusions which kept alive the Nuncomar business, and the stories as to his love of money, and the means, direct or indirect, by which he gratified it. It is noteworthy that the satirical or venomous hits at Impey in Hickey's paper, and which were presumably but the expression of vulgar contemporary belief, nearly all refer to circumstances on which charges were founded, which the recalled Chief Justice had afterwards to defend himself from. A couple of extracts will serve as instances. "A displaced civilian asking his friend the other day what were the readiest means of procuring a lucrative appointment was answered, 'Pay your constant devoirs to Marian Allypore, or sell yourself soul and body to Poolbundy.'"*

The following shows that whatever may have since been urged in explanation of the Chief Justice's part in the transaction, the allegation was locally current at the time that in accepting the presidency of the Sudder Adawlut Impey came in for a very substantial extra salary and large patronage.† The Chief Justice is supposed to be triumphantly addressing the Sealer of the Supreme Court thus on the disgust and discontent of the Company's civil servants at the recent appointment:—

"But that which to me is the pleasantest part,
No one of the servants dare point out the smart;
Nor do I much wonder, for H——s has said
No remonstrance from them that may come shall be read,

* Pul-bandi, *i.e.*, the keeping bridges or embankments in repair (Beveridge), in allusion to a lucrative contract given to Impey's relative, a Mr. Frazer, Sealer of the Supreme Court. Calcutta scandal alleged that the real contractor was the Chief Justice himself.

† Francis in his place in Council opposed and strongly minuted against the control of the Sudder Adawlut being vested in the Chief Justice as proposed by Hastings. It is a coincidence worth noting that one of the best known passages in the Essay on Warren Hastings, in which Macaulay sums up his denouncement of the arrangement, viz., "the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous," is an adoption of a sentiment, and almost of the language in which it was conveyed, of Philip Francis, who, writing as Junius (in the last famous letter to the Duke of Grafton, February, 1770), says of another transaction: "Your Grace is afraid to carry on the prosecution. Mr. Hine keeps quiet possession of his purchase, and Governor Burgoyne, relieved from the apprehension of refunding the money, sits down for the remainder of his life *infamous and contented.*"

And should they our door with petitions assail,
We'll send all the mutinous scoundrels to jail.
However, to keep them from forging of lyes,
Mr. H——s the feeling, the just and the wise,
Has appointed Ad—l—ts, whose payments at large,
My dear little Archey, are under my charge.
What Company's servant, tho' bred up in College,
To manage my post has competent knowledge?
What though the ten thousand friend W——n may give,
And which condescending I monthly receive. &c., &c."

. . . . . .

"By which should the Company lose a few pence,
They ne'er will perceive it a hundred years hence;
And as long as we jointly can manage the rudder,
No doubt but I'm snug in my post at the Sudder.
"When I talk to Sir R——t or dear brother H——de,
And bid them throw qualms and scruples aside,
They preach up old conscience 'till I lose all patience,
And leave the poor d——ls to their own meditations.
"As for you, my dear Sealer, I trust you're grown wise
From my bright example and candid advice:
Do never let conscience molest or offend you,
For conscience should keep all the time we're in India."

A favourite method with the *Bengal Gazette* for pillorying those whom it desired to show up to public ridicule was to announce a play or masquerade or concert (which were then fashionable amusements), and to assign certain suggestive parts or characters to members of society disguised under the thinnest veil. We may as well see two or three of these, as they will introduce us to several old celebrities at once, and will serve as "the abstract and brief chronicles of the time." The pasquinade of this sort which immediately follows came out in June, 1781.

A couple of characters which would not admit of a reappearance have been omitted, and the "persons represented" have been added in brackets so far as it has been possible to identify them.

PLAYBILL EXTRAORDINARY.

At the New Theatre, near the Court-house, is now in rehearsal,
A Tragedy, called

"TYRANNY IN FULL BLOOM, OR THE DEVIL TO PAY."

With the Farce of

"ALL IN THE WRONG."

Dramatis Personæ:

Sir F. Wronghead	By the Grand Turk. (Hastings).
Judge Jeffreys	By Ven'ble Poolbundy. (Impey).
Sir Limber	By Sir Vincr Pliant. (Mr. Justice Chambers).
Justice Balance	By Cram Turky. (Mr. Justice Hyde).
Judas Iscariot touching the 40 pieces	By the Rev. Mr. Tally Ho. (Rev. Wm. Johnson).*
Don Quixote fighting with Windmills	By the Great Mogul, commonly called the Tyger of War. (Hastings).
Whipper Snapper, Balance's Footman...	By Rawton Guinea pig. (Mr. Wraughton).
Double-fee Ferret	By C——r Avis from the Marshalsea. (Counsellor Davis).
Idle Charley, the Bankrupt Merchant	(M. C. Croftes).

* This clergyman was a notable figure in Old Calcutta. He tied the nuptial noose for several whose names have become familiar to us in the social records of the time. Not the least memorable of his doings was his own marriage (1774) to a lady whose life would supply materials for an almost incredible romance. She had been a prisoner of Sooraju Dowlah, at Moorshedabad in 1756—at which time she was the wife of her third husband, through whose daughter by her she became the grandmother of a Prime Minister of England (Earl of Liverpool). She died (1812) the oldest European resident in Bengal, at her house in Calcutta (on the site of the present bonded warehouse.) Her tomb in St. John's Churchyard is, or ought to be, well-known to most Calcutta residents. The reverend gentleman to whom she gave her hand for the fourth time, apparently got tired of her, because he left India for good in February, 1788 and she remained behind for nearly a quarter of a century longer, dispensing as the "Begum Johnson" a "dignified hospitality," and delighting society with her anecdotes of old times and her cheerful and polished manners. There is what seems to be a very speaking likeness of the Rev. Mr. Johnson in the vestry room of St. John's Cathedral—a young looking, healthy round and smug-faced gentleman—with his hair short and brushed down flat over the forehead. He wears the contented look of a divine who tries to make the best of this world—and of the next.

Cato, also the True-born Englishman	By Mr. Hicky.
Mammon	By a German Missionary. (Rev. J. Z. Kiernander).
Irish Link-boy crying a brass farthing, your Honour ...	By Sir Barnaby Grizzle. (Mr. Messinck).
Slaves, Train-bearers, Toad-eaters, and Sycophants	By the Grand Jury.
Liberty Boys	By the Honest, Independent, Disinterested Petty Jury.

Between the Play and the Farce will be introduced

A DANCE OF DEMONS OF REVENGE BY THE CALCUTTA LAWYERS AND THEIR BANYANS.

The Dance to conclude with the song of

"From mortal sighs we draw the groan,
To make their sorrows like our own."

Which Sir Barnaby promises to accompany on the Bassoon, assisted by his German Missionary Brother Printer.

Two Ghosts will be introduced for the sake of variety. First Ghost by Nuncomar; second Ghost by Peter Nimmuck (M. P. Read).

Chancellor Murder English from Gothland will entertain the audience with a doleful ditty on the hurdy-gurdy, about his card losses and pluckings at Lady Poolbundy's routs.

Why the first character should stand for Hastings will be understood when it is remembered that Sir Francis Wronghead is a character in Vanbrugh's and Cibber's comedy of "The Provoked Husband," who, says a commentator on the play, "having overdrawn his estate, deems it advisable to quarter himself on the public purse, and who has ventured all for love 'to please his eye and vex his heart,' and if he has been guilty of any libertinism in his youth, he is more than atoning for it by a wedded life of penance and mortification—his wife being thoughtless and extravagant."

I have some doubt as to whether Don Quixote also is intended for Hastings. He is often alluded to as the Great Mogul elsewhere in the *Bengal Gazette*—and his fondness for war is remarked on—but it is strange that he should be under two characters in the same piece. Sir R. Chambers had been Vinerian professor at Oxford. He had a character for being weak and infirm of purpose, easily influenced. Justice Balance is a character in Farquar's play of the "Recruiting Officer."

But evil days were now close at hand:—One day in June an armed band* consisting, he avers, of "several Europeans, some sepoys, and between three or four hundred peons," came to arrest him under an order from the Chief Justice at the suit of the Governor. His gate having been battered in with a sledge hammer, he says, he sallied out on them with his arms, and, refusing to be forcibly taken away, undertook to attend the Judge in Court on being shown a legal authority for his arrest. The Court having adjourned before he got there, that same day he was lodged in jail, and the next morning before the Supreme Court "two indictments" were read out to him on the prosecution of Warren Hastings, Esq. Bail for forty thousand rupees for his appearance to each of them was demanded; he offered all that he could muster, namely, five thousand, which was refused, and he was accordingly remanded to jail to prepare his defence as best he could. This is Hicky's own account given publicly in his paper in a letter addressed by him to the Clerk of the Crown, pointing out that excessive bail is unconstitutional, and involves, especially in the case of a poor man, grave injustice. The *Bengal Gazette* also draws attention to the fact that the bail demanded of Woodfall, the printer of Junius' letter to the King, was not equal to 20,000 rupees.

Amongst the Impey Manuscripts there are a few letters relating to the proprietor of the *Bengal Gazette*, the earliest of which is dated three months after the incident just related. Hicky seems to have been in jail waiting judgment; Impey was at Boglepore (whence he was soon to set out for Lucknow, a journey which he

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* Lest the reader should hastily be inclined to regard Mr. Hicky's statement on this head as altogether imaginary, we recall a few sentences from Macaulay's account of the high-handed proceedingsof the Supreme Court at this time, viz.: "No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange tribunal. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population, informers and false witnesses, and common barrators, and above all a banditti of bailiff's followers, compared with whom the retainers of the worst English Sponginghouses in the worst times might be considered as upright and tender hearted. Many natives were seized and flung into the common gaol merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. Every class of the population, English and Native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immoveable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the Government, withstood the miserable catch-poles who, with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt," etc., etc.

was afterwards to hear so very much about). He writes to Hyde to Calcutta :—

"Nothing occurs to me as material in the Court except Hicky's business (and &c., &c.). . . With regard to the first what think you, if his paper (which I have not seen) should not have been offensive since the trial, of three months imprisonment for the record (recent ?) contempts, six months for each of the Governor's indictments and four for the Padre's,* with a fine of one thousand rupees for each of the Governor's, and five hundred for the Padre's, if he lays no affidavit to prove his poverty before the Court, and if he does, to add two months imprisonment for each of the Governor's and one for the Padre's, or shall we remit the contempts ?"

The object of sending Hicky to jail, and keeping him there, was no doubt to extinguish his paper, but in this it failed, for the fact remains (and a very singular one it is in connection with the infancy of the press in India) that though the man who was proprietor, editor and printer, had been imprisoned from June, the *Bengal Gazette* still managed to struggle on for several months longer, with no falling off in the punctuality of its appearance, or any change in the style of its matter. Nor does it mend its manners in the least; the observation of social and official doings is as watchful, and the rebuke or the approbation as prompt and as personal as ever. These are conveyed in all the favourite vehicles as of yore, the Rhymer's "squib," the "Bon Ton Intelligence," the "Contributor's Letter." Lengthy manifestoes headed "Addresses to the Public," are issued, too, which proclaim that in defence of their rights the *Bengal Gazette* and its proprietor will so bear themselves that the opposer may beware. Hicky from his dungeon seems to direct the storm, and hurls defiance at his oppressors with all the resources of his copious invective. This bold front seems to have enlisted much sympathy in the community amongst whom the *Gazette* found readers, and letters of congratulation reach it from many correspondents, one of whom (secure on the outside of a jail himself) thus, with vicarious stoicism, bids the poor captive to be of good cheer. "Do not, I conjure you, bate a jot of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer right onward in the glorious cause of the *English Nation*, even in the gloom of a prison. After a few

* There is nothing to show who the Padre is, offence against whom is thus computed by the mouthpiece of the law to be fifty per cent. less heinous than that against the Governor. Possibly the worthy missionary Kienander may have retorted (for the recent lecture administered to him) by thrusting his spear into the wounded boar ?

tedious months confinement you will look back with joy on your past sufferings, and the happy consequence of them to British subjects, and to this poor distressed and exhausted country." As if to show that when called to a martyr's crown, he can wear it *as* a crown, Hicky about this time thus chides a correspondent, and heaps coals of fire on his chief persecutor's head:—

"Your letter cannot be inserted, as it is repugnant to a plan of the Editor's previously resolved upon by him—never to lash at the fair sex; the poorest of those ladies is a very valuable woman, and the other, though highly exalted may have faults, but the Editor is of opinion that the goodness of her heart makes a sufficient and ample atonement in the sight of God for everything laid to her charge. If so we ought to be content, and although she is nearly allied to a man that has ungeneously and unremittingly pursued the Editor to his ruin, yet as he is unconscious of any part of it being owing to her influence, so he is determined never to give her an uneasy moment from anything published in this paper."

Thus the crippled newspaper battled on through the rains and cold weather of 1781. Early in the following year Hastings returned to Calcutta after some months absence. His arrival brought stormy weather for the *Bengal Gazette*, which has soon to thus inform its supporters of a fresh disaster:—

"In January, 1782, was tried before Sir E. Impey an action brought by Warren Hastings, Esq., against J. A. Hicky on the same indictment on which the said Warren Hastings had the said J. A. Hicky tried and found guilty at the Assizes last June, and for which the said J. A. Hicky was sentenced to remain one year in prison and pay a fine of 2000 rupees to the said Warren Hastings, who has on Wednesday last had damages given him by Sir E. Impey to the very heavy sum of 5000 sicca rupees, which with the fine of June amount to 7000 rupees, with a long confinement of one year in jail in this dangerous and scorching climate."

Nevertheless Hicky's return fire is as brisk as ever. News had about this time percolated into the Calcutta Jail of the coercive measures employed by the Governor-General, after his recent Benares warfare, against certain members of the Royal Family of Oude, and of the officious zeal with which the Chief Justice came to his aid and journeyed from Benares to Oude to take what have since became historically known as "The Lucknow Affidavits." The imprisoned Editor was not likely to neglect such an opportunity of letting his oppressors see that he had his eye on them. So a prominent place is assigned them in the *Bengal Gazette's* next satire

on Society. This takes the form of a "Congress at S—k—r," and a "Vocal Concert given previous to the rising of the Congress." The characters in the latter are very numerous, but it will suffice to instance the most easily recognized ones in each. It may be explained that Sooksagur, the scene of the Masquerade, was a pretty place up the river where the *élite* of Calcutta sometimes went excursionising in the cold season on festive pursuits.

"In the Congress at S—k—r some of the most conspicuous masks were :—

Dictator	In the character of Sir Francis Wronghead (crying we are on a forlorn hope, and must drive on neck or nothing.)
Old ********* . . .	A travelling justice of the peace taking affidavits gratis, with the following motto on his breast, "Datur pessimo," and "all was false and hollow."
Ned Silent* . . .	A windmill ; he wore the habit in which he recanted the errors of the St. Franciscan faith : he had a label on his breast, on which was inscribed :—"Good tho' late, if sincere, but seldom sincere when so late."
Thane†	Appeared in a Highland dress thrumming on the bag pipe. He was overheard whispering to the Dictator, "Keep all secret, mon, and I'll help thee oot."

* Wheler, Member of Council : this backsliding of his is curiously confirmed by Francis himself in his journal in the month following that of the duel, viz., 'Visit Mr. Wheler in the evening at the Gardens. Find his house full of the Government people, and perceive plainly from his own discourse that H. and he are not in a state of mortal enmity, *nimiun familiariter exercere inimicitias videntur*. They are often closeted together, &c." Wheler was also nicknamed Ned Wheelabout by Hicky.

† Macpherson, Member of Council (1781). In his early career he is supposed to have shaken the Pagoda tree with marked success. Lord Cornwallis would seem from his published correspondence to have had but a poor opinion of his abilities or principles. On retirement he was created a Baronet, and became a great friend and confidant of the Prince of Wales. He was of great stature, and "went by the name of the Gentle Giant."

Viner*	Having lost his own character by his acceptance of a place in May last, came into the room with his hands under his shirt in that of a Fiscal.
Justice Balance . . .	Of No Body.
Jack Paradise Lost† . .	A patriot in a coat out at the elbows which he endeavoured to patch up with a string of love-letters supplicating a celebrated beauty to undertake the shortest part in "Duke and no Duke."
Behar Judge . . .	A Courier laden with affidavits taken before the travelling Justice. Sir. F. Wronghead was overheard enjoining him not to peach, and making him assurances of being highly provided for.
Turban Conquest. . .	Representing the parable of the foolish virgin in the Scripture carrying a lamp without oil.
Pomposo, Her Guardian. .	A Dutchman.

In the Concert at S—k—r the following songs were set down for the chief performers :—

Songs.

Know then war's my pleasure	By Sir F. Wronghead.
How I am weather-beaten and shattered.	Ditto.
Gold from Law can take the sting.	By Poolbundy.
The laws were made for the little.	Ditto.
There's truth and good sense in friend W——n's defence, affidavits shall answer them all, sirs.	Thane.
"I'm bubbled, I'm bubbled, oh, how I'm troubled, bamboozled, and hit."	Affidavit Courier.
He that weds a beauty. . .	Jack Paradise Lost.

* Chambers : Hicky announced with disgust in the previous September that the "new office of Judge of Chinsura and Chandernagore had been bestowed with a handsome salary on one of the Judges of the Supreme Court." This extra place of profit conferred by the Company's Government, attracted comparatively little notice considering the uproar created by the similar patronage in Impey's favour.

† I have substituted the least objectionable of this gentleman's aliases.

'Tis impossible for me, as I hope to be saved, Madam.	Jack Paradise Lost.
Our Emma is a sad slut, nor heeds not what we taught her . .	The Community.
And when we fly them, they pursue us, but leave us when they've won us . . .	Turban Conquest.
The best wines if kept too long will turn to vinegar . .	Ditto.

This pleasantry gave the finishing stroke to Mr. Hicky's editorial career. It was not enough to scotch the snake; it must be killed; and killed it very soon was in this unexpected fashion. Early in March, 1782, the following announcement appeared :—

"Mr. Hicky addresses his citizens and fellow subjects with heart-felt joy, and tells them that on March 7 the king's judges inclined to admit him to plead *in formâ pauperis* in defending four fresh actions brought against him this term by Warren Hastings, Esq.; and that Mr. Counsellor Davis (for plaintiff) did make a motion and plea in bar of Mr Hicky's types being exempted from seizure, setting forth that the said printing types did constitute and form a great part of Mr. Hicky's property, and hoped their Lordships would not protect the said types from being seized upon should judgment be obtained against him. This motion the honorable the king's judges strongly opposed as repugnant to the British Legislature and constitution, and treated it with the contempt it so very justly merited. Thus, by protecting the types, they have protected the liberty of the subject and the liberty of the press."

In the next number he makes this appeal to the public :—

"A scene of continued tyranny and oppression for near two years having reduced Mr. Hicky very much in his circumstances, involved him more in debt and injured his business very considerably, though he is still immured in a Jail where he has been these nine long months separated from his family and friends, at the suit of Warren Hastings, Esq., and where he still expects to remain as the said W. H. has brought no less than six fresh actions against him this term," &c., &c.

Then follows the rate at which advertisements, &c., &c., will continue to be inserted.

In the same number he announces the recent appearance of Lady Cronghead at a masquerade "habited like a Tartarean (*sic*) princess, almost sinking under the weight of pearls and diamonds. The brilliancy of her dress was only eclipsed by her usual urbanity and vivacity."

This was the last opportunity allowed to the Editor of taking Mrs. Grundy into his confidence. His jubilant announcement of the repugnance of the Court to the proposal regarding the seizure of his type was premature. At all events the types were seized. The bound copy of the paper in the British Museum bears this entry on the fly leaf, "from March, 1780, to March, 1782, The Day the Types were Seized by Order." The *Bengal Gazette* was strangled, and the *India Gazette*, its well-behaved rival, was left blooming alone.

The ill-fated proprietor and editor can be traced a few steps further, in two or three letters and petitions of his addressed from jail to the Judges of the Supreme Court, which may still be seen in original among the Impey MSS. These are in the heavy, shaky writing of an old man. They are in respectful terms, coming from a man naturally sunk in misery on realizing that his hostages to fortune have been deprived of support; their tone is humble, but is not abject. On seeing them, one is not inclined to indulge in obvious moralities or unqualified condemnation, but rather to feel pity for the sad plight of an old fellow, who through his stormy career manifested much of the doggedness which characterizes John Bull. The first is dated January 17th, 1783, and is addressed to the Chief Justice. In it he complains of "being surrounded by very drunken, riotous, fellow prisoners, and his peace and repose interrupted by their clamorous broils." He especially names a Lieutenant Gould for "assaulting his ears with the most gross and ungentlemanlike abuse," though he had shown him many little neighbourly attentions. After his complaint the letter goes on thus:

"I have now been confined in this jail upwards of nineteen long months, and nine long months of that time have been deprived of the means of earning one rupee for the support of my family, entirely owing to the seizure of the implements and tools of my profession; and not being able to pay the rent of a small brickhouse for my children to live in, they have been, until the Christmas holidays, immured in the jail with myself. You, Sir, who have many fine children of your own (God bless them) cannot be at a loss in forming an idea what the feelings of a tender father must be who daily beholds his little innocent children pining away under the contaminated air of a filthy jail,* *who has the inclination but not the power to relieve them.* Yet great

* In the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, published in 1782, we get a glimpse of what this Calcutta jail was like at this very time. A Mr. Creassy who had been imprisoned there said "the gaol was an old ruin of a house, formerly the residence of some black native." A Mr. W.

and afflicting as those hardships really have been and still will continue to be, I have never complained of them, nor do I complain of them now; my only motive for this short description being to prove to your Lordship that these afflictions are full sufficient for me to bear without having them wantonly aggravated by a man to whom I never gave the least offence. Was it in my power to shift my place of abode to such a distance that my ears could not be offended, and my mind thereby inflamed, I would not have troubled your Lordship."

He winds up by saying that he will do very well if Mr. Gould is removed.

This letter is thus endorsed in Impey's writing, "Hicky's letter; gave Mr. Church, the Sheriff, an account of it, and desired him to redress any grievances he may labour under."

In the following August he petitions the Court, and dates from "Birjee Jail," thus using the native designation for the quarter where the common prison was situated then—as now. He asks for release and remission of the rest of the fines, and points out that "Mr. Hastings last June did generously forgive your petitioner his part of the fines." I am glad thus to be able to record this instance of absence of vindictiveness towards a fallen man, on the part of one who has often been referred to as implacable and unforgiving. He urges that he had been "already two years in jail, during sixteen months of which he had been deprived of the means of earning a rupee for the support of his family, twelve in number, whose only subsistence was derived from the produce of a few bills which happily he had by him."

The answer to this, he says, was, "that there was no resource but to pay the money, or lie in jail till next term."

In a week or two he petitions again, saying that though he has

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Hickey (an attorney, I think) had often visited a friend there. "In the middle of the jail enclosure was a tank about thirty yards square in which the prisoners promiscuously bathed and washed their clothes. Europeans were generally indulged by the gaoler with permission to erect and live in small bamboo and matting huts near this tank; it would be impossible for any European to exist for any length of time within the prison. The stench was dreadful. There was no infirmary or provision for the sick that he ever heard of. Debtors and criminals were not separated, nor men from women (but of this he was not positive). An old woman prisoner who begged of him said, in answer to his question, that she wanted the money to buy water." From other evidence (see Mill) it appeared that there was no gaol allowance, and that many died from want of the necessaries of life. Hindoos, Mahomedans and Europeans were all together. In addition to this, the prisoners, at the time deposed to numbering 170, there were daily there a number of women and attendants who brought provisions or came to cook them.

received his release from Mr. Hastings he apprehends detainers from other creditors. He asks the Judges, "who are fathers themselves, whether they can be devoid of feeling for a man in his situation, separated from his helpless children, who are now at that age that they ought to be sent to school." His final prayer is that "as he is now stripping his family of the necessary furniture that they had got about them, which he had so long struggled to keep for them, that when they are sold at outcry, and the proceeds paid to the Clerk of the Crown, that he will no longer be detained in prison 'by any other demands upon him relative to this business.'"

The Chief Justice sent this petition on to Mr. Justice Chambers with this note :—

"Dear Sir Robert,—I send you another letter from Hicky; please to send your answer, and transmit that and this letter to Brother Hyde."

Chambers wrote at foot of the Chief Justice's letter :—

"The improprieties in Mr. Hicky's letter may well be pardoned on account of his distress; but I do not see how we can relieve his distress. As to his request that he may be informed of all the demands that can be made upon him relative to this business, the Clerk of the Crown will undoubtedly inform him if he applies to that officer."

When this reached Mr. Justice Hyde he seems to have made some reference back to Chambers, the purport of which may be gathered from this rather crusty note :—

"Dear Brother Hyde,

"I had no intention to write more than you received, and that was not meant to be sent to Hicky, but merely to communicate to you and Sir E. Impey the idea that occurred to me. I do not believe that Sir E. Impey intended that I should compose a written answer to be signed by all the Judges, for he knows that in the present state of my health it would not be proper for me so to employ myself. I agree with you in thinking that it is not necessary to send any written answer to Mr. Hicky.

"I am, dear Brother Hyde,
"Yours affectionately,
"R. C."*

"August 19, 1783."

* Chambers signs his notes to Impey, "yours very affectionately." One in which he asks that his absence from court may be excused is addressed to the *Right* Honourable Sir E. Impey—a mistake which Mr. E. B. Impey notices in an endorsement.

The answer from the Judges was unfavourable, and was verbally conveyed. This is evident from the last despairing wail of the imprisoned Editor that is traceable :—

"The only resource he has now is to implore the assistance of God to give him patience and fortitude to stand the shock which your Lordships' memorialist received last Sunday night when Mr. Forbes delivered him your Lordships' message." . . . . . Now every dawn of hope is fled, and nothing but a gloomy picture of horror, confinement and distress appears before his imagination."

Ah me! how different all this from that serene evening, the "blest retirement, friend to life's decline," to which he thus told his patrons in one of his addresses his fancy looked forward when he embarked on his newspaper enterprise. "I hoped to pay off all my debts, and secure six thousand pounds in England, in order to support me in my old days in a land of freedom and liberty. To purchase a little house in the middle of a garden, rise with the lark, sow my own peas or beans, graft or innoculate my own trees according to the season of the year, and live in peace with all mankind."

Whether Hicky's chains were ever broken I have been unable to discover; or whether the old stranded hulk got refitted and launched on another voyage. That useful but melancholy book, the "Bengal Obituary," does not enshroud him, so there is some room to hope that he managed to return to that country of which it was his boast to proclaim he was a free-born son. He was a worthless man, but as the pioneer of the Indian Press his name and his story should have an interest for Calcutta.

CHAPTER VIII.

PHILIP FRANCIS AND HIS TIMES.

Madame Grand, 1777—1780.

The incident in the Calcutta life of Philip Francis, which maintains a notoriety second only to that of his duel with Warren Hastings, is his appearance before the Supreme Court as defendant in a suit successfully instituted against him by G. F. Grand.

The circumstances which led to a member of the Government being forced to occupy so unenviable a position were first brought directly to the notice of Indian readers by Sir John Kaye, nearly forty years ago, in a very bitter article on Francis, in the second volume of the *Calcutta Review.*

Kaye derived his information altogether from the account written by the plaintiff many years after the event in the "Narrative of the Life of a Gentleman long resident in India," from which he gave an extract detailing some of the more prominent facts constituting the wrong which necessitated a recourse to law. Mr. Herman Merivale, who completed and edited the "Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis," published in 1867, when dealing with the Calcutta scenes in this domestic drama, is obliged to rely entirely on the extract quoted in the *Review*, and alluding to the "Narrative," says,—"I have never seen this very scarce production." English writers and others who have in recent years touched on this subject have followed the account reproduced in the "Memoirs," and seem to have adopted the view held both by the Editor of the latter and the Calcutta reviewer, that, however desirable it is, as a general rule, to avoid such subjects, there are occasions when they justly fall within the province of the biographer. It will not be difficult, for instance, to show that the incident in question was "not merely a domestic episode in the life of Francis," but one, the consequences of which tended to embitter his resentment against Impey—an incentive to action on the part of so good a hater as Francis, which bore fruit a thousand fold a few years afterwards.

As regards the lady concerned in the Calcutta proceedings, French writers naturally take an interest in the career of one who

emerged from obscurity to occupy a very conspicuous position in the highest Parisian society, as the Princess of Benevento, several years afterwards. Conjecture had, of course, long been busy as to the antecedents of a lady so suddenly exalted ,and stories vague and shadowy and remote from truth, were in circulation about them. However, long before her death, even curiosity about her seems to have subsided, and for the generation succeeding, her name ceased to offer a topic of commentary. But, on the publication of the "Memoirs" of Sir Philip Francis fifty years after his death, circumstances were brought into prominence which revived an interest that had long slept; and English* and French reviewers, in dealing with the "Memoirs," recalled a forgotten *cause célèbre*, and confessed that till they appeared, little was known of the Indian antecedents of a lady, who is thus alluded to by one of them: "Parmi les contemporaines de Madame Récamier il en fut une qui, très-belle ausi, avait vainement eu pour premier adorateur un des hommes les plus spirituels de l'Angleterre, Sir Philip Francis, à qui sont attribuées les famenses *Lettres de Junius*; et pour epoux M. de Talleyrand, réputé les plus fin des diplomates europeéns."†

The same writer says, that the lady arrived in Paris from India after a number of adventures—"suffisant pour rivaliser avec la fianceé du roi de Garbe."‡ The comparison is a harsh one, but

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* A note in the *Westminster Review*, vol. xl., says:—"That not even scandal—not even scandal judicially attested is immortal, is curiously exemplified by the fact that Lady Brownlow, in her recently published 'Reminiscences,' showed total unacquaintance with this frail dame's Indian antecedents and adventures, and spoke of her as Mrs. Grant, an American lady." The note then goes on to itself repeat some of the inaccuracies still current, regarding those antecedents. Lady Brownlow, as Lady Emma Cust, was, in 1814, the guest of Lord and Lady Castlereagh in Paris, I believe. She dined at Talleyrand's, and made the acquaintance of the Princess, and what she *does* say of her in the "Reminiscences of a Septuagenarian," published in 1868, is: "Her antecedents would not bear very close enquiry; she was, I believe, either English or Scotch by birth, and had been in India as Mrs. Grant."

† M. Amedée Pichot, in the *Revue Britannique*: This accomplished gentleman died in 1877, which I was not aware of when the first edition of this book appeared, or until informed of it some two or three years ago by his son, M. Pierre Amedée Pichot, who succeeded his father in the *Revue Britannique*. He was a charming writer and humourist. Charles Dickens had a great regard for him. I am indebted to him for much curious information concerning Madame de Talleyrand, which I shall have the pleasure to acknowledge again.

‡ Readers of Boccaccio will appreciate the allusion.

the fragmentary form in which anything relating to Madame Grand has come before the general reader, would leave room for much misrepresentation, as would the gossip, resting often on very slender authority, which tradition has associated with her name. It is remarkable that even the author of the "Memoirs" of Sir Elijah Impey says:—"I do not remember to have once heard my father relate the circumstances of the trial, nor do I find a single allusion in his papers* to the cause of Le Grand (*sic*) *versus* Francis, which produced so great a sensation in Calcutta at the time."

It is proposed, therefore, to now re-tell, in a more connected form than has yet been attempted, the story of this celebrated cause, and to bring together the circumstances surrounding and arising out of it. With this in view recourse will be had to a source not hitherto made use of,—*viz.*, the original record of the trial itself as preserved among the archives of the Calcutta High Court.

It will be convenient, in the first place, to see who and what the plaintiff was (as after the lapse of so many years some misconception exists even on this point), and from this quarter to get a look into Anglo-Indian society in the last century, by tracing him through his career, both before and after the painful domestic episode, which has rescued his name from oblivion.

Of Madame Grand herself but little can be told up to the time when she left India. After that there is a long portion of her life during which even tradition is almost, and probably ever will be, silent; but from the time when her name becomes connected with that of a great historical character, materials are not wanting to follow her career. An outline of this, gathered from French and other sources, will be given to complete the sketch before we take leave of her.

Mr. George François Grand was not "established in business at Chandernagore," as the biographer of Francis and other writers assume; but he was a member of the Indian Civil Service duly appointed in England, and had previously been in the Company's Military Service. It will be best as we go on to let him, as a general rule, tell his own story, by placing before the reader extracts from his quaintly written "Narrative"—a source from which I shall have occasion to make copious drafts.

And first a word or two about this book. There is a copy† of it

* The present writer took occasion to verify this in a search through the Impey MSS. in the British Museum.

† The Indian Office library contained, for many years, a copy of this scarce publication, which disappeared a few years ago under accidental circumstances

in the British Museum, on the fly-leaf of which, written apparently in a senile hand, is this note signed Jno. Row:

"The annexed Narrative was the first book printed in the English language at the Cape of Good Hope, and was given to me by Mr. Smith."

The book is a thin quarto of seventy-five pages, and an Appendix of xxxi. Its full title is—

"NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE

OF

A GENTLEMAN LONG RESIDENT IN INDIA,

COMPREHENDING

"A period the most eventful in the history of that country, with regard to the revolutions occasioned by European interference, and interspersed with interesting anecdotes and traits, characteristical of those eminent persons who distinguished themselves at that juncture,

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

1814."

An "Advertisement" on the first page tells the reader that—

"I had long determined upon writing a narrative of my life. It was suggested to me by friends who felt for the vicissitudes which I had experienced. I began it therefore in 1801, and continued it from time to time, till in 1808, I have brought it to a close. The reason of the delay in its publication has been detailed by Notification inserted in the *Cape Gazette*. I thank those who have now afforded me the opportunity of giving it to the world without subjecting me to a pecuniary loss.

not necessary to be detailed. This was, most probably, the copy made use of by Kaye, but he extracted from it only enough (and this on one or two special points) to arouse a curiosity to see more, as the writer had evidently resided in India during stirring times. Kaye shows what misrepresentations as regards the after career of Mr. Grand might have been avoided (notably by Macfarlane) if this little known Narrative had been consulted. The present writer looked for it in vain many years ago in the British Museum, but lit on it there most unexpectedly, in 1878, a copy having been obtained by purchase in July, 1874.

Where opportunities exist for comparing portions of the Narrative with contemporary or collateral authorities, it will be found to be reasonably accurate, some allowance being made for one who is stating his own case, and who is writing of events long gone by, and at an age when memory must have lost much of its tenacity. When I come to speak of the latter portion of his book, however, I shall have to notice one or two rather disingenuous suppressions.

As was not uncommon, the narrative is in the form of a letter to a friend, and thus opens in the old fashioned stereotyped way.

"Born of a virtuous and noble family (my mother's name being Clerc de Virly, which Virly was a seignorial patrimony in Normandy, long the property and residence of her ancestors till the despotism of Louis XIV., by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, drove the Seigneur de Virly to take refuge with his family in England, leaving his fair possessions and wealth to the spoil of a tyrannical king). Educated at Lausanne (in the environs of which delightful city and country the Lordship of Ecublanc, situated on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, between Lausanne and Morges, had long been the seat of the Grands) in the house and under the superintendence of the best parents, assisted by a private tutor, a clergyman living in the house, and with whom I used to attend the lectures of the first professors of science in that celebrated University, I could not otherwise be formed, when I opened my career in the world, but with a disposition inclined to honour, virtue, and fraught with every social tie."

His father having a large family accepted the offer of an old mercantile friend in London, Mr. Robert Jones, of Clement's Lane, Lombard Street (afterwards an East India Director and M.P. for Huntingdon), to receive his son as apprentice for seven years, gratis, with the view of his succeeding at the end of that time to a regular business estimated to bring in about £5,000 a year.

The next extract will show how Mr. Jones received the youth, who arrived in London "in charge of a voiturier," and how young gentlemen were taught to become British merchants a hundred years ago:—

"He welcomed me most roughly; he asked me indeed how my father and mother were, and if I had brought him any Gruyére cheese, which, the voiturier answering for me in the affirmative, seemed to work a happy change. He smiled and bade me approach him; called for the footman, and, observing his spare beds were removed to the country, committed me to the care of him, who was directed to afford me half his bed to sleep on. The next morning, after breakfasting with Mr. Jones, I was introduced into the accounting house, and my first duty prescribed to see it cleaned, the fire well lighted, the desks

brushed, the chairs, &c., &c., well placed, and told I should be favoured to run about with bills for acceptance, as soon as I became acquainted a little with the streets of London to be able to find my way in them, until when I was ordered to accompany the footman, who on such errands threw off his livery jacket, to assume an old brown coat cast off by his master, and he was enjoined to point out to me the principal resorts where this duty called him, after my pigtail had been changed for a cropped head of hair, in order, as Mr. ~~James~~ Jones wittily remarked, the people might not take me for a French monkey imported on English grounds.

"And now, my friend, view the contrast which so sudden a change created; picture to yourself a youth dressed in embroidered and laced clothes, curled head and chapeau bras, solitaire and sword by his side, accompanied and introduced by his tutor into the first assemblies, both public and private, taught by the attention of those frequenting them almost to consider himself a man, and behold the transition of the same youth in a plain English frock, round hat, and hair cut close, trudging after a footman in all weathers through the streets of London!

"The disgust was natural. I seized the first moment of well grounded discontent to absent myself."

Finally, through the interest of an aunt, he got a nomination to a cadetship in Bengal, and sailed in January, 1766, in the *Lord Camden*, in which he found himself "accommodated with eleven writers, each with a standing bed in the great cabin, not one of which gentlemen, excepting Mr. John Makepeace Thackeray,* of Hadley, is now (1802) living."

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* The christian name should have been given as William. He was the grandfather of the great novelist. In the Government proceedings for August 28, 1766, we may see who some of those writers were, viz., "The following writers being arrived were called before the Board and expressed themselves satisfied with their treatment on the passage. Agreed they be stationed as follows:—

"Mr. Dawson under the export warehouse keeper.

"Mr. Nicholson ditto ditto.

"Mr. Cook, Mr. Thackeray, Mr. Michell, Mr. Heatly, in the Secretary's office.

"Mr. Stoddard in the Select Committee's office.

"Mr. Pattle under the Military Paymaster General."

In the following year's proceedings the President acquaints the Board that he is in want of an assistant under him as cash-keeper, *ordered* that Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray be appointed to that office. "The vestry records of St. John's Cathedral, Calcutta, show the marriage of Mr. William Makepeace Thackeray, junior writer, to Miss Amelia Webb, January 31, 1776. Another Bengal writer who sailed with them in the *Lord Camden* was a Mr. Ray, son of Lord Sandwich, and the too celebrated Miss Ray. He died on the voyage out. Grand describes him as most painfully sensitive as to his parentage.

They anchored in Madras in June, where he waited on Mr. Palk, who from being chaplain had succeeded Lord Pigot in the Government. In Calcutta he was well received by Clive, who regretted that he could not entrust one so young with a commission, but who sent him up to join the second brigade which stood on the roll for field service, with an injunction to its commanding officer to let him act as ensign as soon as he seemed fit. Before very long he got a commission as ensign signed by Clive.

In 1768 he became a lieutenant, in which rank he served till 1773* (without apparently seeing any active field service), when, owing to broken health, he was "ordered by the Faculty to make a trip to Europe." To follow this prescription involved in those days resignation of the service—a step which he most reluctantly took and returned to England. Prior to embarkation he remained three months at Calcutta with General Anthony Polier, when he saw a good deal of Warren Hastings, then the Governor. He gives a curious glimpse into the social life of the Presidency during the sojourn.

Eventually he obtained a writership on the list of 1776, "which station was accepted accompanied with the assurance that I should be so recommended to the Government of India as to be deemed eligible to such situations as Factors were placed in." He arrived in Calcutta in June, 1776, and having been entrusted at Madras with official despatches from Colonel Macleane to the Governor-General he "was received by Mr. Hastings with that affability and benevolence which were so characteristic in that great man, and directly was taught to consider myself an inmate of the family, and one partaking in a certain degree of his confidence, having the honour of being admited to his bureau to transcribe his official despatches and secret papers."

But let us pass on to where the narrative introduces us to the lady whose beauty, and the strange fortune to which it conducted her, made her at one time a celebrity even amongst the highest in Europe.

"While I remained in the family of Mr. Hastings I was in the habitude, with my friends Majors Palmer and Gall, to make occasional excursions at the end of the week on the river. Our rendezvous generally was either at the lamented Mr. Croft's plantation of

* In Dodwell and Miles' Army List (Indian) the dates of his commissions are, ensign, 1766 (when he could not have been more than 17 years of age) lieutenant, 1768, captain, 1773.

Sooksagur, in which he had introduced the growth of the sugarcane, or at Ghyretty house, the residence of M. Chevalier, the Governor of the French settlement of Chandernagore. At this gentleman's mansion there reigned the truest hospitality and gaiety. His admiration and personal friendship for Mr. Hastings insured the most welcome reception to those who were patronized by this excellent man. In one of these trips from the Presidency I formed an attachment to Miss Nöel Catherine Werlée, the daughter of Monsieur Werlée, Capitaine du Port and Chevalier de Saint Louis, a respectable old man whose services had deservedly merited this mark of distinction from his sovereign. We were not long in expressing to each other our reciprocal inclinations, and our engagement in matrimonial alliance took place, which we agreed should be solemnized so soon as I could obtain a situation which might enable me to commence housekeeping.

"The considerate Mr. Barwell, becoming acquainted with our mutual wishes, and pleasingly, as he said, desirous to alleviate the sufferings of a young couple ardent to be united, opened of himself the subject to me, and with that liberality of mind which he truly possessed, authorized me to impart to Mr. Hastings that whatever he could devise for my welfare should meet with his hearty concurrence. The Paymastership to the garrisons was the first office which became vacant, and to this I should have been appointed had not Mr. Hastings sacredly engaged his promise for that station to Mr. Kneller. By the removal, however, of Mr. Coates at the same period to the commercial residency of Chittagong, these worthy friends obtained from the Board of Trade for me the office of Secretary to the Salt Committee, and Head Assistant and Examiner in their Secretary's office, then the present Mr. Charles Grant, the Director.

"These situations, producing an income of thirteen hundred rupees per month, I felt at full liberty to claim from the young lady and her worthy parent the performance of their promise. The 10th of July, 1777, was accordingly fixed for the auspicious day, and as Miss Werlée was of the Catholic persuasion it became necessary for us to be married both in the Romish and the Protestant church. To these we conformed. On the morning of that day, at 1 a.m. (*sic*) the Popish priest legalized our union in the church at Chandernagore, and at eight the same morning at Hughely House, where my old Benares friend, Thomas Motte, Esq., dwelt. The Revd. Dr. William Johnson, by special license* from the Governor-General, pronounced, I had fondly hoped, our indissoluble tie in this world so long as our respective career of life lasted.

* The marriage may be seen thus recorded, by the chaplain who officiated, in the register now existing at St. John's Church, Calcutta.

"*July*, 1777.

"Mr. Francis Grand, writer in the Hon'ble Company's service, and Miss Varlé, of Chandernagore.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, *Chaplain*."

I am under obligation to the courtesy of M. de Lessard and of Monsieur

"I might well have entertained a reliance of this nature, for never did an union commence with more brightening prospects; on our parts it was pure and disinterested, and blessed with the sincerest attachment. This continued, I may aver, to the cruel moment which separated us never to meet again. Those who frequented my house verified the same. When called upon for their evidence before the Tribunal of Justice in order to identify the person who had committed the irreparable injury, and who with the boldest effrontery had, as will be seen, denied in writing his trespass, it was evident how they sympathized in my unfortunate lot. To the question repeated by the Bench of Judges to each witness their answer was uniform: 'You were accustomed, sir, to visit at Mr. Grand's house! did you ever observe any mark of disunion between them?' 'On the contrary, my Lords, the happiest domestic union, and we remarked that the most minute and reciprocal attentions prevailed until this fatal event.'"

When Mademoiselle Werlée became Mrs. Grand,* she was about three months short of fifteen years of age, having been born at the Danish Settlement of Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast, on November 21st, 1762. Her mother's name is given as Laurance Allancy, of what nationality does not appear.

It is customary, especially amongst French writers, to speak of Mrs. Grand as an "Indian," or as a "creole." Talleyrand himself writes of her as "Une Indienne bien belle," and Napoleon at St. Helena referred to her as "Anglaise ou Indienne;" Capefique in the "Biographie Universelle," speaks of her as "rare et nonchalante beauté Indienne." These allusions to her Indian origin seem intended to convey the impression that she was not directly sprung from unmixed European stock. But her enduring comeliness, which charmed long after middle life, is opposed to this, as indeed is the physical character of her beauty which contemporaries have handed down. In all probability it would be as inaccurate to designate her as an "East Indian" (in our acceptation of the word), in whose case, as a rule, when youth is gone all is gone, as it would be so to describe the offspring of European parents because born in Calcutta to-day.

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l'Abbé Barthet for the knowledge that the original record of this marriage does not now exist at Chandernagore; the changeful times through which the French Settlement passed since then will account for this.

* Her husband being an Englishman (by adoption), it was as "*Mrs*" Grand that she was spoken of when in Calcutta. As such he always mentions her. The French form "*Madame*," by which she is now most generally alluded to, dates from the period of her European notoriety.

All authorities agree in testifying to the extreme beauty of Mrs. Grand: in face, form, figure, and gracefulness of carriage she seems to have presented a combination quite unrivalled. But beyond this she was dowered with that rare and special beauty, which perhaps ranks highest in the scale of female attractions, and commands (as ever) universal admiration—a glorious head of hair; one enthusiastic French writer alludes to this feature of hers as "la plus belle chevelure blonde qui ait peut-être jamais existé."

I shall have occasion further on to refer to the matured beauty of her later bloom, but the following is from the description of her in the morning of her life, given by Francis to his second wife. All that this lady tells on this subject, as said to come from Francis, must be taken with the greatest reservation; but on this point her testimony is in harmony with that from independent sources: "Mrs. Grand was at that time the most beautiful woman in Calcutta. She was tall, most elegantly formed, the stature of a nymph, a complexion of unequalled delicacy, and auburn hair of the most luxuriant profusion; fine blue eyes, with black eye-lashes and brows gave her countenance a most piquant singularity." The writer in the *Calcutta Review*, before quoted, says that "her picture painted by Zoffany now (1844) adorns the walls of Mr. Marshman's residence at Serampore;" and with a discrimination which perhaps is somewhat *ex post facto*, he adds,—"there is more of feminine softness than of strength of character in her fair countenance;—the sensual prevails everywhere over the intellectual."

A painting of her by Gérard may still be seen in the Musée at Versailles. This I shall refer to again.

Such was the lady who was singled out in the social life of Calcutta for the marked attentions of Philip Francis.

To him also nature had been prodigal of her gifts. In addition to his rare mental endowments he was remarkable for an exterior described as "strikingly handsome." His contemporaries speak of his tall, erect, well-proportioned figure; his classical features; his small delicately-moulded ears and soft shapely hands, &c. Lady Francis (a very devoted witness, however) records, that so noticeably good-looking was he as a young man, that when in Paris in 1766 he was alluded to as "le bel Anglais."

His manner towards ladies is said to have been characterized by an air of easy politeness and attention marked with deferential admiration. A good idea of this may be gathered from the letters scattered through his Memoirs, notably from those to the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, to Lady Thanet, and others. "Many of

his letters to women," says his biographer, "have that mixture of playfulness, humour, and sentiment which is said to be particularly captivating to them. He had also that peculiar attraction which they are sometimes apt to find in one who is feared by men, and reputed haughty and unyielding among them, but who shows himself tractable and submissive to the other sex and eager to obtain their favour."

At the period to which the circumstances about to be related refer, Mr. Francis was eight and thirty years of age. His personal and other qualifications for ingratiating himself would not be worth mentioning; but that, in recalling the early incidents in Mrs. Grand's life, it would be unfair not to take into account some of those elements of success in what is called "gallantry," to which as a child-wife she was exposed; and such qualifications, it must be remembered, would have rather an ally than the reverse, in the disparity of years which existed in the special occasion for their employment with which we are concerned. For it is "a tale often told" that a girl's self-love in the first instance is flattered and gratified at being selected in society as the object of the preference and attention of a gifted and experienced man of the world; and such a man's getting into further favour is facilitated, "here in India" especially, by high official position, owing to the peculiar constitution of Anglo-Indian society.

In the diary which Francis kept in India, and in which official and social matters are mixed up with sententious brevity, we find, under date November 23rd, 1778—"Ball at my house; Hastings, &c., &c." There is evidence existing, as shall be seen further on, that young Mrs. Grand was at this very ball, and received marked attention from the host, which probably accelerated matters towards the climax, for next day, November 24th, the entry is "Omnia vincit amor; job for Wood, the salt agent."

On the 8th of the next month, after a few lines about public business, the diary notes this pithy sentence: "At night the diable à quatre at the house of G. F. Grand, Esq."

Mr. Grand tells us that he lived with his "recent-acquired consort at a garden house,* a short distance from town." His recollection of the general course of the events of this night may, in the first place, be given in his own words, summarized in part. The details, necessary for the due understanding of what actually

* I regret that I have been unable to get any further clue to the locality or site of this house.

occurred, had better be left to unfold themselves in the evidence given at the subsequent trial by some of the principal witnesses:

"On December 8th, 1778, I went out of my house, about nine o'clock, the happiest, as I thought myself, of men; and between eleven and twelve o'clock returned the same night to it as miserable as any being could well feel. I left it prepossessed with a sense that I was blessed with the most beautiful as well as the most virtuous of wives, ourselves honoured and respected, moving in the first circles, and having every prospect of speedy advancement. Scarcely had I sat down to supper at my benefactor, Mr. Barwell's* society, who required of his friends to join him every fortnight at this convivial meeting, than I was suddenly struck with the deepest anguish and pain. A servant, who was in the habit of attending Mrs. Grand, came and whispered to me that Mr. Francis was caught in my house, and secured by my jemadar (an upper servant exercising a certain authority over other servants). I rose up from table, ran to the terrace, where grief, by a flood of tears, relieved itself for a moment. I there sent for a friend out, who I requested to accompany me; but the rank of the party, and the known attachment which, I was well aware, he held to him, however he execrated his guilty action, pleaded his excuse with me."

He then appears to have set out for his own house alone, and called in his way on his friend Major Palmer (Hastings' secretary) with the view of borrowing his sword and securing his attendance, his intention being to release Francis, see him out of the premises, and there and then "measure" himself with him "until one of us fell." This programme having being agreed to by Palmer they proceeded to put it in execution.

But on reaching Grand's house they were astonished to find not Francis, but Mr. Shee† (afterwards Sir George Shee) held down on

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* See a foot note further on in reference to the scene of the supper.

† This gentleman appears to have been as much in Francis's official confidence as in his private. In another part of Grand's Narrative he tells, that when the dispute between Hastings and Clavering as to who was legally Governor-General was referred to the Judges, each member of the Government was represented at the conference of the Judges by deputy, Mr. Shee being present for Francis. The Judges were convened at Impey's house, and sat till four in the morning. Grand as an eye-witness gives an interesting account of this crisis, but, with a lapse of memory he says he was married at the time (June 20th, 1777). His marriage occurred three weeks later. Grand elsewhere says that Francis, on another occasion of historical interest, was represented by Messrs. Ducarel and Shore, who pledged themselves on his part that there would be no factious opposition to the Governor General on Mr. Barwell's vacating his seat in Council. He here gives rather an incoherent

a chair in a lower apartment, begging of the servants to let him go, while Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) and a Mr. Archdekin were alleged to be standing by joining in Mr. Shee's entreaty. The jemadar's explanation was that he had secured Mr. Francis "to meet the vengeance of his master," until Mr. Shee and some other gentlemen had, in answer to a whistle from Mr. Francis, scaled the wall and rushed in; that a scuffle with the object of rescue had taken place, during which Mr. Francis managed to escape. Whereupon it would seem that the jemadar, deeming it prudent to retain some tangible proof of his prowess, for the satisfaction of his master, had substituted for the escaped prisoner the most prominent of his liberators.

Mr. Grand questioned the intruders, but got, he says, only evasive and unsatisfactory answers in their exculpation. He then ordered their release, and without seeing his wife returned himself to Major Palmer's house for the rest of the night, where—

"Seated on a chair, borne down with the deepest grief, I anxiously awaited the morning to require from the undoer of my happiness the satisfaction which the laws of honour prescribe as a poor relief to the injury committed. I wrote to Mr. Francis that, void of every spark of principle and honour as I deemed him, still I trusted he would not deny me the meeting which I summoned him to immediately with any friend whom he might choose to bring. His reply was laconic and easy. It was couched in these terms: That conscious of having done me no injury, and that I laboured under a complete mistake, he begged leave to decline the proposed invitation, and that he had the honor to remain my most obedient, &c., &c.

"I now returned home, sent for Mrs. Grand's sister and brother-in-law from Chandernagore, occupied the lower apartments of my house, whilst Mrs. Grand remained in the upper; and on the Sunday following, everything was arranged for Mrs. Grand's returning with them to live under their mansion and protection, myself contributing what was requisite for her support independent of the monthly allowance which I chose to allot to her own disposal.

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account of the circumstances that led up to the duel following the alleged broken pledges of Francis; here also the narrator's memory is treacherous, because he says that Hastings had at this time (1780) been "deprived of his old colleague Sir Eyre Coote by death." Coote did not die till early in 1783. In the St. John's Vestry records (Calcutta) Shee's marriage at Hoogly in 1783 with Miss Eliza Crisp is entered. He became a Baronet in 1793. He must have been a friend of Edmund Burke's, who in a letter to his kinsman John Burke (1777) (sent on to Francis) says, "You are happy that you have our friend Shee under the immediate protection of one who knows so well what power owes to friendship."

"An interview was entreated, and could not be denied. It lasted three hours, interrupted with the most poignant lamentations. I heard an unvarnished relation of the baseness of the arts employed for the seduction of a stranger, and attained only to her sixteenth year. I pitied her from my heart. I sincerely forgave her, and with a sorrow approaching to distraction, we parted."

If what is here stated be true regarding the reception the challenge met with as represented in the very slipshod sentence alleged to be the "terms" of Francis's answer, it is difficult to avoid viewing the latter's attitude not only with the strongest reprehension, but with contempt. On the other hand it will be conceded, that to refuse the satisfaction which, according to a social code then in vigorous existence, it was dishonourable and unmanly to shrink from, must have done more violence to a man's natural impulses than to give it. *

Francis, we know, was ready enough himself to seek personal satisfaction for any affront, and did so on at least two occasions afterwards; therefore, before charging him with the poltroonery which the above allegation would seem to justify, we are driven to

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* Had Francis consented to accept Grand's challenge, no man out of Europe at the moment, or indeed in it, could have gone to the ground better assisted through the necessary formalities. He might have provided himself with an experienced second, who with congenial ardour would have seen the business carried through to the bitter end, according to the strictest canons of taste and fashion. The potential friend referred to was his terrible Irish cousin, Major Phil Baggs, who had just then arrived in Calcutta on a gambling speculation, and fresh from the glory of a duel with no less redoubtable a personage than Fighting FitzGerald. Francis in recording his cousin's arrival in the river on the very day of the escapade at Grand's adds in his diary the suggestive words "il ne me manquoit que cela." Baggs fought eleven duels in his time. He once won £17,000 at hazard; he lived in great splendour at Paris for many years, presumably on his gambling skill. The "Gentleman's Magazine" in chronicling his death at seventy remarks that "his countenance was terrible, though his manner and appearance were gentlemanlike." The following account of his most celebrated duel (1777) was written out to Francis by another cousin (Tilghman), "Since his (Baggs) return to France he has fought a desperate duel with bully FitzGerald, in which he behaved with his wonted gallantry. He wounded his antagonist in the thigh, and was himself wounded in the leg, the small bone of which was broken and forced into the 'tendo Achillis,' as the newspapers say. When he received the shot he fell; but having a pistol in reserve, and being at liberty to break ground, he crawled towards Fitz, who, unable to endure the grimness of his countenance, broke ground the wrong way, and ran off at such a rate that he plainly discovered *his* tendo Achillis had received no injury. Upon this Baggs took a flying shot, but missed his mark, and so the matter ended."

look for some other possible explanation for his declining a hostile meeting in this case.

If there be even a grain of fact in the bushel of romance which Lady Francis (in her Miscellaneous Recollections) has recorded in connection with this episode, it may very probably be found in a circumstance strongly dwelt on,—namely, the prolonged implacability of young Mrs. Grand to her tempter's ardent entreaties. When the whole "wretched business," as Francis was wont to call it retrospectively, had long been past and gone, he always maintained that he had not then been a "successful lover" and he left it to be inferred that the extent of his transgression on the night in question was limited (legally, it may be supposed) to something far short of criminal trespass, and amounted but to intrusion. We shall see that one of the Judges who heard the evidence found that there was not only no proof but no strong presumption to the contrary.

His illicit object being, therefore, unattained, and being now likely to be put securely beyond his reach, he may possibly have reasoned that the best thing now to be done was, in the lady's interest, to firmly disclaim consciousness of having injured (in the meaning *he* evidently attached to the phrase), and so, as a last chance, to leave an opening for a possible hushing up, while the circumstances were confined to comparatively few, and to avoid by any further action of his the tarnishing of the lady's name by the wide dissemination of the midnight scandal, which would be the inevitable result of a duel about her.

If any calculation like this actuated him in holding back from Mr. Grand's morning invitation, he must have been rudely undeceived, when he found very soon after that his answer was simply looked upon as adding insult to injury, and as the justification in the husband's eyes for that recourse to law, which ensured such a publicity to the whole affair, as to put it beyond doubt that the nocturnal visit had fatally compromised a helpless woman.

On determining to carry his domestic grievance to a Court of law, Mr. Grand seems not to have found it very easy to put his project for relief into execution, owing to a difficulty which surely was never felt before or since, *viz.*, the want of a lawyer,—"most of the complaisant Advocates of the Supreme Court having either being retained by him (Francis) or intimidated from acting." Passing by this reflection on a profession ever remarkable for its independence, I shall merely point out that the hindrance did not

last long, and that his case was taken up by one of the most respectable members of the attorney profession.*

Mr. Grand, however, does not mention in his Narrative that he authorised his lawyer to ask for the most prodigious damages which were probably ever alleged in a similar case in a Court of Justice.

The following is an extract from the plaint, &c., copied by permission from the records of the Old Supreme Court of Calcutta :—

"*Pleas at Fort William before Sir Elijah Impey, Knight, and his companions, Justices of our Sovereign Lord the King, of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, of the Fourth Term, in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight.*

"G. F. Grand, Esq., by Ralph Uvedale, his attorney, complains against Philip Francis, Esq., that he, on the 8th day of December, 1778, with force and arms, on Noel Catharine, the wife of the said G. F. Grand, made an assault, &c., &c.,† whereby he the said G. F. Grand was deprived of, and lost the help, solace, affection, comfort and counsel of his said wife.

"And also that he, the said Philip Francis, on divers other days and times between the said 8th day of December and the 21st day of the same month of December,‡ with force and arms, did &c., &c., and other enormities to the said George Francis Grand, against the peace of our said Lord the King, to the damage of the said G. F. Grand of fifteen hundred thousand sicca rupees, and thereupon he brings his suit."

PLEA.—"And the said Philip Francis, by Samuel Tolfrey and North Naylor, comes and defends the force and injury when, &c., &c., and saith that he is in nowise guilty of the trespass above charged on him, and of this he puts himself upon the Court.

REPLICATION.—"And the said George Francis Grand doth so likewise.

"And now on this 7th day of January, 1779, to which day was

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* These assertions are hardly supported by certain documents filed with the record in the High Court. The writ directed to the Sheriff, J. H. Doyley, ordering him to summon Francis to appear in the Supreme Court is dated December 24, and refers to Grand as having filed his plaint of record on the 18th day of November. It is endorsed by the Sheriff as complied with and returned January, 1779. Another document shows that "G. F. Grand puts in his place Ralph Uredale, his attorney against Philip Francis, in a plea of trespass this eighteenth day of December, 1778."

† The pruning knife has been largely used here; the old pleadings did not err on the side of want of fulness or detail.

‡ This part of the plaint would seem to be inconsistent with Mr. Grand's own account of the arrangements made on the day succeeding the 8th of December.

given as well to plaintiff as to defendant to inform the Court of the premises, came the said parties by their said attorneys, and the said Justices then heard the respective allegations of the parties as justico required, and examined the truth thereof, and duly considered the evidence produced on both sides, but because the said Justices here are not yet advised to give their judgment of and upon the premises. Day therefore is given to the parties aforesaid before the said Justices until," &c., &c.

The laying of the damages at the enormous amount quoted is very suggestive of there being a prevalent idea that, even after Lord Clive's reforms, a member of the Government of India was not dependent on his official salary as a means of acquiring wealth —an idea which I believe to be wholly unfounded in the case of Francis, if gains in the slightest degree incompatible with official probity were contemplated. Elsewhere I have alluded to the extravagant rumours in connection with his card-winnings; possibly the plaintiff, or his legal advisers, may have had an eye on that fancied hoard. However this may be, fifteen hundred thousand sicca rupees were represented by, say, sixteen lacs of the rupees now current,* and then probably equivalent at a favourable exchange to £160,000 (pounds sterling).

From the time of his arrival in India up to date, Francis's high official salary had barely amounted to a quarter of this sum; and to pay the amount which the plaintiff asked as a salve to his lacerated feelings, would have swallowed up the whole of the defendant's legitimate allowances, even were he permitted to retain his Indian appointment for sixteen years instead of six.

Though but little delay occurred in putting the legal machinery in motion, still the final hearing of the suit was deferred owing to the absence of a principal witness "on whose evidence every hope of crimination rested," according to Mr. Grand. But we had better take the facts relating to this from an unexceptionable source, viz., from the notes of one of the Judges conducting the trial, Mr. Justice Hyde.

"1*st Term.*

"Monday, 18th January, 1779.

"*Present:*

"SIR E. IMPEY, SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS, AND MR. JUSTICE HYDE.

* The sicca was one-fifteenth ($\frac{1}{15}$t) more valuable than the current rupee.

"*George Francis Grand, Esq.*, versus *Philip Francis, Esq.*

"*Mr. Newman.**—This cause, which is of a particular nature, is for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife. We are obliged to apply for the indulgence of the Court to put off the trial of this cause, and save our notice of trial for a few days, as the Court may think fit, for the absence of a material witness. We have used our utmost endeavours to subpœna Mr. Shee, who is a very material witness, and has gone away to Chandernagore, as we suspect, purposely to avoid giving evidence in this cause, and secretes himself so carefully in Chandernagore that we have not been able to serve him with the subpœna. Mr. Shee being in the service of the Company, we propose making an application to the Govenor-General, on which we hope he will be obliged to come down.

"*Impey, C. J.*—The Court have nothing to do with any application to the Governor-General and Council. When the Court see that a witness is kept out of the way, to be sure they will let you save the notice of trial, and perhaps, if it is necessary, they will let you put the trial off from time to time till the witness appears.

"We cannot help taking notice of the names of the parties, and that one of them, the defendant, is a member of the Council. When in such a cause we see a witness kept away, we can but suspect it is by his influence.

"When we see influence and power exerted to prevent appearance of a witness, it is but just to delay the trial to get at his testimony if possible.

"In England, if a witness, being subpœnaed, does not appear, the party for whom he is subpœnaed may proceed against him by action, or he may be punished by fine and imprisonment on an attachment for the contempt. I had a considerable share in advising on our Charter† with the Attorney-General, Mr. Thurlow,

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* Mr. C. Newman.—This advocate was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor* in 1783—a catastrophe which plunged many Calcutta families into mourning. The ship was cast ashore "on the Coffee Coast" eastward of the Cape on her voyage home. Some of the passengers who reached the land were barbarously treated by the natives.

† This allusion was evidently a favourite weakness of Impey's, as a year before this we find Justice Hyde thus unbosoming himself in his note-book, *apropos* of a difference of opinion between him and two of his brethren: "This is another effect of that doctrine of October or November, 1777, that although the Charter allows six months for every party aggrieved to present

was in my own house in the compound, sitting, when the iya (*sic*) came down and told me that her mistress wanted a candle, and that, on her returning, she had found the door locked. I went out of my house and saw a bamboo ladder; it was against the outside wall, on the inner side of it. I thought it a strange thing, and went to acquaint the jemadar of it.

Describe the ladder.—It is made of a whole bamboo split in two, and when it is closed it is like one bamboo; it has moveable steps to it inside, and has iron points to it. The jemadar was also surprised to see the ladder. While we were talking, a gentleman came out of the house, whom I recognized as Mr. Francis, the Counsellor, who lived behind the play-house. He is tall. I knew him, because Mr. Grand was often at meals at Mr. Francis's, and I attended him there. When Mr. Francis come out he said, "Give me that thing" (the ladder). "I will give you money. I'll make you great men." He spoke to the jemadar and all the servants. He also said, "Don't you know that I am Mr. Francis?"

What language did Mr. Francis speak?—The same as I do, in broken Moors. Not so well as you (to the interpreter). The jemadar took hold of Mr. Francis's hand and said, "My master is not here, what do *you* do here?" While the jemadar was carrying Mr. Francis into the house, Mrs. Grand said something to him, which I did not understand. After Mr. Francis was taken into the lower part of the house I went to acquaint Mr. Grand.

Between the time of the ayah's coming down to tell you of her having been up with a candle and had found the door locked, to the time of your seeing the gentleman coming out of the house, what time elapsed?—One or two Hindustani ghurries* it might be.

When did you see defendant come out?—Between ten and eleven o'clock (English hours).

Cross-examined.—You say that in passing by the wall you saw a man coming out of the door; what time was it between your first seeing the ladder and that time?—I cannot say the time.

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tavern keeper of this name in Calcutta. He retired from business and left India in December, 1780, apparently in prosperous circumstances, as the following advertisement of the period shows: "F. Le Gallais, formerly master of the tavern and hotel in Calcutta, but since a considerable wine merchant, has taken the whole of the great cabin of the other Danish Indiaman, Captain Croger." He must have managed to run through his savings, in Europe, because in 1788 he returned and started again in Calcutta, but died three years after. His widow carried on the business, and the firm Le Gallais and Co. are still represented in the same line of business in Boir Bazaar.

* A ghurrie is a period of time equivalent to about twenty minutes.

Have you not mentioned the time before?—I told you about one ghurry or two.

Do you mean a Bengal ghurry or two?—I can't say exactly.

By the *Chief Justice.*—Was the conversation you have related at the ladder the only conversation that passed?—I was sent away. I was not there. I heard no more.

Did you know Mr. Francis before he told you who he was?—I knew defendant before he told me.

Did he go quietly with the jemadar or make resistance?—Defendant made no resistance.

Did you not swear before Mr. Justice Hyde that the time between your seeing the ladder and the gentleman coming was a quarter of a ghurry?—I had no watch that I could know the distance of time exactly.

Did you not mention a quarter of a ghurry before Mr. Justice Hyde to what you now say one or two ghurries?—I was not exact to the time.

Did you or did you not swear so before Mr. Justice Hyde?—It certainly took up time.

Will you swear that it was more than a quarter of a Bengal ghurry?—I did not see the gentleman go into the house therefore I can't say; it was undoubtedly more than a quarter Bengal ghurry.

Sheik Ruzullah (durwan or door-keeper) examined.—Locked the door when Mr. Grand went out to sup at Le Gallais, and kept the key; only opened the door for those servants who waited on his master at meals, during the latter's absence that night; opened it to no English gentleman 'till his master came with some that night.

To the *Chief Justice.*—Knew of no gentlemen coming over the wall; heard no whistling.

Bowanny (hurcarah or messenger) examined.—Has been in plaintiff's service two years; knew defendant by his stature and voice.

You say when they laid hold of defendant you also did so; at what place was it?—It was at the back of the house, near the steps at the back of the house leading to the hookaburdar's house.

Did defendant do or say anything at the time when you went with the other two?—Yes, he spoke to Mrs. Grand, who was standing upstairs.

What did he speak to Mrs. Grand?—Defendant spoke in his own language. I did not understand

Did defendant say anything to you, or Meerun, or the jemadar?—Defendant said to the jemadar that he would make him a great man, and put his hand in his pocket and took out gold mohurs.

(In further answers says)—When we were leading defendant from the place where we laid hold of him, and were carrying him opposite to the front door, the jemadar sent Meerun to acquaint Mr. Grand; after this defendant again offered presents to jemadar; took defendant to the front of the door, when Mrs. Grand came down and told him to let defendant go; jemadar replied, "I will not hear you, you may go to your room." We kept defendant opposite to the door of the house; we made him sit down in the house, in the part that leads to the upper part; there is a lanthern there and a staircase.

Rambux (jemadar, or chief over the servants) examined.—Do you remember the disturbance that happened at plaintiff's house in December last?—Yes, I remember it.

What was the first knowledge you had of it?—Meerun asked me where I had been. I told him I was just come from abroad; I went with Meerun; he carried me and showed me a ladder.

Where was the ladder at the time?—It was fixed at the inside of the wall where Mr. Grand lives in a red house.

About what time of night was it when you first received the information from Meerun?—About ten o'clock or eleven; it will be past eleven o'clock.

Do you remember the day of the week?—A Tuesday.

What did you do on the discovery of the ladder?—I took it away.

Why did you take it away?—I did not know whose ladder it was, therefore I took it away.

Have you seen the ladder here to-day?—I have; that is the same ladder.

Was anything done by you after removing the ladder?—I was standing at the same place near the necessary house, waiting to see whether the person who brought the ladder would come there or not.

Did you see any person come?—Yes, I saw a gentleman.

Who was that gentleman?—It was Mr. Francis.

What Mr. Francis?—Mr. Francis the Counsellor (*sic*).

That was about eleven o'clock at night. How could you distinguish that it was Mr Francis?—I knew him by his face and shape.

Was it sufficiently light to distinguish his face?—I went near his face and looked. When he was at a little distance I did not know; when I was near I knew him.

Did you know before any conversation passed between you and

him?—Yes, but before the conversation I did not know him very well.

What led you particularly to know him after the conversation you had with him?—By his figure, his face, and his colour.

By anything else?—That gentleman was in black.

You say defendant came to the place where the ladder was; from whence did he come?—He came downstairs and then stood at the place where the abdar's chest was.

How do you know that he did so?—There was a great alarm at the house.

(Here followed several questions about the topography of the house, which went to elicit that on one side in the lower part was a hall or passage, off which four doors opened; the western one led into Mr. Grand's room, which again looked towards Mr. Ducarel's house. Defendant seems to have descended into Grand's lower room, and emerged thence into the hall and stood for a while at the abdar's chest on the opposite side of the hall).

When the defendant came downstairs what passed between you and him?—I went up to that gentleman and said to him, "What business have you here?" He said, "Give me my thing." He asked for the ladder, he had no other thing of his at that house but the ladder; therefore he must mean that; he came out and was looking, and as he had not found the ladder there he could not go. Then he said, "Give me my thing."

Give us an account of what passed between you when he looked about and asked for his thing.—The first words he said to me when I went up to him were, "Give me my thing." I then answered, "I have not that thing with me;" I then took hold of his hand; then he took out gold mohurs and offered to give them me; I refused them; he said, "Take that (offering both his hands to me). I will make you great men, and I will give you a hundred gold mohurs more."

Had you done anything, previous to the offer being made, to prevent his going away?—I stood on the side where the ladder was; he wanted to go that way, and I prevented him.

Why did you lay hold of defendant's hand?—Because I found that gentleman in the house. Certainly, if I had let him go my master would take my life away. After the offer of the money, he further said, "Do you not know me?" I answered, "Yes, I do; you are Mr. Francis." He said, "I am the Burra Sahib; I am Mr. Francis." When I first took hold of his hand, he twisted it a little. I then said, "Is there nobody here? Seize him." Meerun

and Bowanny (hurkara)* seized him and brought him down from the steps which lead from the abdar's† chest to the compound. I then sent Meerun to acquaint Mr. Grand. When I was going to take the gentleman to the lower part of the house (*i.e.*, apparently across to the other side of the house), he whistled four or five times; as I led him from the east side to the western, he whistled five to seven times. When I carried him opposite to the door, some conversation passed with my mistress.

Where was your mistress?—She came and desired me to let him go: she came near me and told me so. I had then hold of Mr. Francis. I said I have sent people to acquaint my master: I will not attend to you.

What did you then do with the defendant?—I desired my mistress to go upstairs, and said to her I will not obey you. I then led the gentleman towards the northern door. I gave him a chair to sit down.

After the defendant was seated in the chair what was done?—I made him sit down in the chair, and then I put my hands on the arms of the chair to keep him there.

What more passed?—I heard a great noise at the outside door; they were using force; there are two gateways of the Compound, one always remained locked—the northern gate; bearers were near me and a syce; I told them to go to the doors, to let nobody in. I am not certain whether there were one or two syces there. On the side where I first seized Mr. Francis two gentlemen came, Mr. Shee and Mr. Ducarel; they scaled the wall. After I had made Mr. Francis sit in the chair, those two gentlemen came in and broke open the door of the house (room?) where my master used to write; this was in the lower part of the hall where Mr. Francis was. As soon as Mr. Francis heard this noise he got up from his seat. I then endeavoured to keep him in his seat; he was going to that part where the gentlemen came; in that room it was dark. Those gentlemen shoved me and pushed me; I am not certain whether Mr. Francis fell; but I am certain I fell on the chair. When I kept both my hands on the chair nobody was with me, the servants were at the door. When I fell on the chair I called to those servants who were at the door. When I fell Mr. Francis escaped out of my hands, and then I called to the servants. When

* *Hurkara* is the Hindustani for messenger.

† The *abdar* is the servant in charge of wine, liquor, &c., whose chief function is to keep them cool for drinking.

I recovered myself I got up; it was dark; I seized a gentleman, a Mr. Shee; I did not then know whether it was Mr. Francis or not at first; afterwards I found Mr. Francis had escaped. The bearer and the syce, when they returned, came to the place where I was, and laid hold of Mr. Ducarel. I took hold of Mr. Shee and carried him up. The bearer and syce took Mr. Ducarel out. Mr. Keeble was standing on his own house looking, and asked, "What is the matter?" The bearer and syce said to Mr. Keeble, "These gentlemen came into the house when my master was out."

Did Mr. Francis say anything of what would happen in case Mr. Grand came home while he was there?—When he wanted to go I refused to let him go; I said, "My master will hang me if I let you go." Mr. Francis said, "Sooner than he shall kill you, *I* will die."

Witness continues.—Mr. Keeble then came near the wall. Whether there was a heap of dirt or a chair on the wall I don't know; Mr. Keeble was standing on the outside talking to Mr. Ducarel. Mr. Keeble said, "Give me that gentleman" (meaning Mr. Ducarel). The bearer and syce refused to comply with Mr. Keeble's demands. I was at a little distance from Mr. Ducarel with Mr. Shee; Mr. Ducarel was in the hands of the bearer and syce. I said to Mr. Keeble, "If you desire it, take Mr. Ducarel away." I did not know at first whether it was Mr. Ducarel or not; afterwards I found it was him. Mr. Ducarel had already given his hand to Mr. Keeble; the bearers prevented him. When I saw it was Mr. Ducarel I put my hand and helped him up; afterwards Mr. Keeble again desired me to give up Mr. Shee, and said, "I shall be answerable for him." I refused. I said "I would not." Four or five times Mr. Keeble desired me to deliver Mr. Shee, and that he would be answerable. I refused.

After this Mr. Grand and Mr. Palmer came in. I desired the bearers to open the door. Mr. Grand came and told me to let Mr. Shee go. I did so.

Did you get any money?—Yes, three gold mohurs from Mr. Shee. He gave them that I might let him go, and he promised to give me more.

What hat is that you have got in your hand?—I found it in the house. I don't know to whom it belonged.

You say Mrs. Grand desired you to let Mr. Francis go. Previous to that, had you seen Mrs. Grand?—No, I had not.

From the time you first surveyed the ladder to the time you

seized Mr. Francis, what time elapsed?—It might be less than one ghurry, or half a ghurry.

About what time of night was it that you first saw Mr. Francis come out?—It was about 11 o'clock. I did not hear the clock strike.

Cross-examined.—You say you seized Mr. Francis by the hand. Did you hold his hand from the time you first saw him till he got out of the chair?—No. It was after he offered me gold mohurs that I laid hold of his hand.

Then you had him not by the hand before he offered the mohurs?—No.

You say Mrs. Grand desired you to let Mr. Francis go. What language did she speak?—She spoke Hindustani. She said "Jemadar, choredo, choredo."

This was a dark night, was it not?—The moon was coming out; it was not quite up.

How can you tell what money the gentleman offered you?—By the jingling I knew them to be gold mohurs.

Tell me the difference between the jingling of gold mohurs and rupees?—Undoubtedly there is a difference.

What difference?—Gold mohurs have a light sound, rupees a dull sound.

By the Chief Justice.—Was the whistling before or after Meerun went to call his master?—After Meerun was gone.

Was there any conversation between Mr. Shee and Mr. Francis while you had hold of Mr. Francis?—No.

Was there between Mr. Ducarel and Mr. Francis?—No; there was only running about. I did not hear any conversation while I was there, and when I got up Mr. Francis was gone away. I heard no conversation.

By Mr. Justice Hyde.—Where was the hat found?—In the hall below, where I had the fall.

Anna Lagoorda examined.—About half an hour past nine o'clock Mr. Grand left Mrs. Grand at home, and went abroad. I desired my mistress to undress, to which she replied, "Mr. Grand will return home about eleven o'clock; until that time I will sit up." She then desired me to sit by her. I then asked leave to go and fetch some betel-nut; as I was going to fetch it Mrs. Grand ran after me saying "Nana-jee, fetch a whole candle." I was then upstairs going to another room.

Was you going to or in that room?—I was *in* the room when Mrs. Grand came running to me; I accordingly went down to

bring a candle. When I returned with it I found the door of the room from whence I went out locked.

What room was that that was locked?—It was the room where I was cutting betel-nut.

At the time you went for the candle where did you leave Mrs. Grand?—I left her in the same room where I was cutting betel-nut.

Describe how these three rooms are situated.—There are three rooms in one row, the rooms open into one another.

When you returned with the candle did you see Mrs. Grand?—No, she was in the room; the door was locked.

Did you make any and what attempt to get into that room with the candle?—I attempted to open it but could not. I imagined Mrs. Grand was angry with me.

(*Here several questions were put as to the intercommunication between the rooms and a hall into which two of these rooms opened.*)

For what purpose were these rooms used?—The middle room was the bed-chamber; on each side there was a room.

For what use was that room where you went to eat the betel-nut?—I lived in the room into which I went to eat my betel.

To what use was the third room applied on the other side of the bed chamber?—It was Mrs. Grand's dressing room; in the dressing room there was a cot and likewise a couch; in the bedchamber there were only Mrs. Grand's cot and a few chairs. Besides the hall there was a small verandah on each side.

How long were you in getting the candle?—About a quarter of an hour.

When you returned with the candle and could not get in what did you do?—I came below stairs; I sat in the jemadar's house imagining she was angry with me.

When you found you could not open the door did you make any noise?—I did call "Madam, Madam," two or three times.

Did you receive no answer?—I imagined she was in the dressing room and therefore could not hear.

Upon your going down did you see any of the plaintiff's servants?—No, nobody was there.

Did you in the yard give information to any person of what passed upstairs?—Yes. Mr. Grand's servant, Meerun, asked me if my mistress was gone to sleep? I said, "No;" I imagined she was either angry with me or was afraid (*sic*). I went below to get a candle and when I returned I found the door locked. Meerun went out into the compound and walked about and he saw a ladder.

Did you see any person seized?—Yes, I saw a gentleman there in the possession of Mr. Grand's servants at a distance. I ran up and called Mrs. Grand, and acquainted her of a gentleman having been taken up by the servants.

Who opened the door?—On my calling Mrs. Grand the door was opened (*sic*).

On your giving information to your mistress, what did she do?—Mrs. Grand went out into the verandah and looked downwards. I went downstairs and did not go up again.

Did you at that time hear any conversation between that gentleman and your mistress when she came into the verandah?—No, I did not.

Did you after that night see your mistress downstairs?—No, I did not; after the troubles were over I came and found Mrs. Grand upstairs.

Mr. Grand went out every Tuesday night. When he was gone from home did your mistress read, or in what manner did she dispose of herself?—Sometimes she read, sometimes she played with me, and went to bed at eleven o'clock.

The night preceding these troubles had your mistress been out?—Yes, she went to a ball.

Do you know at what time Mrs. Grand came home from the ball?—About four in the morning on the Tuesday.

By the Chief Justice.—After you found the door locked and went down again, where did you stay when you heard the gentleman seized in the compound?—There is a horse stable, where three or four women lived; I was with them.

Mr. Gerard Gustavus Ducarel * *examined.*—Was at Mr. Grand's house on the 8th December.

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* Ducarel apparently was not the style of auxiliary (physically speaking) whom a judicious man would select to stand by him in an expected "encounter" against superior numbers. According to Francis he cannot have been far removed from a dwarf. He accompanied Francis on a visit to Paris in 1784, and is thus alluded to in a letter to Mrs. Francis: "Ducarel has found his uncle and aunt, or rather they have found him. He was forced to get on a chair to put his arm round his uncle's neck; and he has worn my blue box to rags to keep his feet from dangling in the chaise. And so 'Ma chère moitié' je vous embrasse." His name occurs several times in Francis's letters from England to India. In the one to Shee, he says, "Ducarel lives a hundred miles off in perfect obscurity."

Blackwood for 1868 is responsible for this anecdote about him. Francis received a letter from him from Bath, expressing doubts as to the soundness of the views that both had held as to the immortality or otherwise of the soul

On what occasion did you go there?—I was called by Mr. Shee: I was asleep in my bed; Mr. Shee came to my bedside, awaked me, and desired me to get up immediately, as Mr. Francis was likely to be murdered; that there was no time to lose: upon which I got out of bed immediately, and without putting on any clothes more than I lay in, went out into my own hall, where he asked me if there was anybody else in the house—if there was, to call him. I answered, Mr. Shore was, and knocked at his door and desired him to get up. Mr. Shee asked me if I could get at any sword or weapon; I don't recollect making him any answer. Mr. Shee told me that Mr. Francis was seized in Mr. Grand's house: we both pushed at the gate to endeavour to get in, but found we could not open. Mr. Shee then went a little way from the gate to a long ditch without the wall, crossed the ditch, got up on the wall, and called to me to follow him, which I did and got upon the wall likewise; after which we jumped down into the compound and went in at a door leading into the lower hall. As soon as I got into the lower hall, I saw a person sitting in a chair either at the further end of the hall or in the little passage that leads out of it on the opposite side; some other person was standing near him. Almost at the same instant that I entered the hall he started up from his chair and ran towards the door that I had come in at; in his way he struck against something with a good deal of violence; after that I saw no more of him, for almost immediately some of the servants came up and seized me, telling me I had caused the person to run away, and that they were determined to seize me. I struggled with them a little, but found it to no purpose, except that of getting from the hall to the outer door, where I saw that Mr. Shee was likewise seized. I expostulated with the people to let me go, but to no manner of purpose, until Mr. Keeble called out from the

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of man, and desiring to know whether Francis still retained his former opinions.

The following is said to be Francis's unceremonious answer: "You d——d old fool. Have not you and I exhausted every argument that could be used over and over again in India on the subject referred to in your letter? and were we not invariably and logically led to the same conclusion? Now, however, I do entertain some doubts in regard to the soundness of our conclusion, and I will tell you why.

"I went yesterday to see Mother Bainbrigg hanged. She died without a struggle. I said to myself as I beheld her swing, 'You monster, there must be something more than this in store for you.' Possibly, therefore, we may be wrong after all; the soul may be immortal."

verandah of his house adjoining to know what was the reason of the disturbance.

You say when you came in at the door leading to the house, you saw a person sitting in a chair, and some other people; could you distinguish who it was?—I could not.

George Shee examined.—In answer to questions states, that fearing evil consequences and failing to dissuade Mr. Francis (who told him of his intention) from going to Mr. Grand's house, he determined to prevent any evil that might ensue: that he followed Francis towards plaintiff's house and walked about in the street and sometimes to a distance, going to and fro: saw a man come out and heard whistling; saw Mrs. Grand in the verandah above stairs, and discovered from her that there was a disturbance in the hall; she mentioned no name. Tried to get in by himself, first by persuading the jemadar to open the compound gate; then endeavoured by himself to force the gate, but failed; then it occurred to him to go over to Mr. Ducarel's house. Having ultimately got in, he (Mr. Shee) rushed upon the jemadar and "threw him on the ground;" after being exhausted by his tussle with the jemadar, he was himself in turn seized and thrown down by a peon.

"I think it necessary here," he adds, "to declare in contradiction to what has been said, that neither the plaintiff or Captain Palmer ever used abusive language to me personally." There were several gentlemen present all the time plaintiff was there—Mr. Shore, Mr. Ducarel, Captain Palmer, and Mr. Keeble. Nothing material passed in the house afterwards that he can recollect. He first heard of Francis' intention to go to Mr. Grand's house in conversation with defendant the day before, and again at six o'clock on the particular day.

For what purpose did defendant mention he was going?—To see Mrs. Grand.

Was any name mentioned? was Mrs. Grand's name mentioned?—It was.

If you can challenge your memory, will you acquaint the Court what was mentioned, what more than Mrs. Grand's name?—I believe it was that he (defendant) would go and see Mrs. Grand on Tuesday.

Did you understand from defendant that Mrs. Grand had any knowledge of his intention?—No, I did not.

Do you know why Tuesday night was fixed on?—I believe it was because plaintiff was going to the club.

Do you say this from anything defendant said?—It was derived from the tenor of his conversation.

If you say, sir, you derive your knowledge from Mr. Francis' conversation, what was it?—It was from defendant's saying that he meant to go to plaintiff's house, while plaintiff was at the club.

Do you know at what time the members of that club meet?—I know nothing of the club.

At what time did defendant come to your house?—About ten o'clock.

Who was with defendant when he came?—Nobody.

How did he come?—He walked.

Was his usual sowary* with him?—No.

For what purpose did defendant come to your house?—To change his dress.

In what dress did he come?—His usual dress.

What did he put on?—Black clothes.

Do you mean a complete suit of black clothes?—I cannot exactly tell; he put a black coat on.

Do you know whose clothes they were?—Defendant's.

How came they to be in your house?—He sent them there.

About what time?—I do not recollect.

Was it usual for him to keep any suits of clothes at your house?—No, sir.

Can you say how many days these clothes were at your house before this?—Several days before.

Did defendant tell you why he did so?—The purpose of sending the clothes was, I understand, for defendant to wear them when he went to see Mrs. Grand.

Do you know why defendant put on black clothes that night?—I believe it was because a man in black clothes is less exposed to view at night, less liable to be seen.

You dissuaded defendant from going; you then knew the purpose for which he was going?—I thought defendant was going at an unseasonable hour, and therefore I dissuaded him.

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* *I.e.*, retinue, or the customary attendants; in this sense it would imply even palanquin bearers. A lady who has given an account of Calcutta social life at this period says with reference to this subject "palanquins are indeed such state appendages that if a gentleman at Calcutta, which is frequently the case, chooses to walk when on a visiting party, his palanquin must follow him in the same form in every particular as if he himself was within, a departure therefrom being deemed a solecism in polite etiquette." ("Hartly House").

Do you know for what purpose defendant went?—Defendant did not tell me for what purpose he was going.

If defendant did not tell you directly, was anything said by him to lead you to form a judgment?—Defendant told me he was going to Mrs. Grand's. I formed my own conclusion.

From what was the danger to arise from defendant going to plaintiff's house?—I thought should plaintiff return at that unseasonable hour and find defendant in his house very dangerous consequences might ensue.

Merely from a civil visit did you suppose that danger would ensue?—I did not say a civil visit.

It was from your own conclusion that you supposed the danger?—It was.

When defendant quitted your house to go to Mrs. Grand's who went with him?—Nobody.

How soon did you follow him?—Shortly after; I suppose in a very few minutes.

And when did you next see defendant?—I set out on foot and walked towards plaintiff's house, and I went to the house, where I saw a man in black who I supposed to be defendant; I then went up a little lane, and when I returned again defendant was not there.

From the corner of the wall did you see where defendant was?—I walked up the lane; when I returned defendant was not there.

There was a small ladder produced in court here. Have you seen that before?—I have, sir.

When did you last see it before to-day?—I saw it at plaintiff's house. I believe I saw it.

When did you first see it?—I saw it first in the hands of a black carpenter several days before.

Do you know that carpenter?—No, I do not.

Where was that black carpenter at the time?—I saw it in the yard where the carpenter was working.

Where was that?—In my yard. Defendant told me that he would take it as a particular favour if I would get a ladder made for him. He did not tell me the use of it, nor did I care what use he put it to.

After the ladder was made what became of it?—It remained in my Compound.

By whom was it taken away?—By defendant.

When?—At that night; defendant carried it that night to plain-

tiff's house, I suppose, as I saw it there afterwards in plaintiff's hands.

From the time you left defendant at the corner of the wall to the time when you saw him in plaintiff's house, what time do you think elapsed?—I believe it must have been upwards of an hour.

Did you by any means know when plaintiff went to the club?—No.

When you first saw defendant in the house where was he?—He was sitting in a chair.

Was any violence offered to him?—A man was holding him in the chair.

Did you apprehend his life was in danger?—Not from those people, but if plaintiff came in.

It has been in evidence that when you were seized you offered the jemadar money to release you?—Yes, I did, sir. Finding myself pressed I offered, amongst other expedients, three gold mohurs.

Were you present in the room in your own house when defendant changed his clothes?—I was.

Had defendant any money in his pocket?—He had silver rupees. I did not see any gold mohurs.

What quantity do you suppose there were?—About fifteen or twenty rupees.

Is it very usual for gentlemen in general to carry money about them in this country?—I don't know that it is, sir.

Do you, yourself, sir?—Very often.

Have you any now, sir, about you?—I have not, sir.

Do you know Mrs. Grand?—Very well, sir.

Do you know about the time she came to the Settlement, after her marriage?—About a year or two ago.

Do you know where she now is?—I was told she is at Chandernagore.

Did you see her on your way down?—I did not.

Does Mrs. Grand speak English?—Not generally, perhaps one word.

Does defendant talk French?—He does, sir, fluently.

Witness visited at her house and saw her often at balls, &c., knew that for ten or twelve months back defendant took particular notice of her; has known him hand her to table even when ladies were present whose husbands were of higher rank.

In the month of November last, defendant gave a ball at which plaintiff and Mrs. Grand were present?—Yes, sir.

You of course were present; were there any ladies of higher rank than Mrs. Grand there?—There were many.

Do you recollect any particular marks of attention paid by defendant to Mrs. Grand?—He danced a country dance with her.

Did he dance with any other ladies?—I don't recollect.

Did you not sit at either of the tables where defendant sat or where Mrs. Grand sat?—I do not believe I did.

Did defendant get up during supper-time to go from her table?—I was engaged attending another lady and did not observe.

Are you appointed to any place out of Calcutta?—I am appointed to Chandernagore.

Soon after the transaction which is the cause of this action, search was made after you. Were you then at Chandernagore?—I was not.

Had defendant a knowledge of your absence from Chandernagore?—He did not know it.

When did you quit Calcutta after the transaction at plaintiff's house?—I quitted Calcutta the last of December.

Will you say what induced you to quit Calcutta?—My friends advised it.

Was defendant one of those friends?—He was.

Did defendant know the place where you were going?—He did.

Where did you go?—I went to Purnea.

At whose desire did you return?—At defendant's desire.

In what manner did you receive the wish of defendant?—By a line from him.

At what time did you receive the letter?—I received it about the 27th of last month.

Previous to your departure had you any knowledge of this action being brought?—I heard there was an action to be brought.

From whom had you this knowledge?—I heard from defendant that it was to be brought.

By the Chief Justice.—I hear you were a good deal about defendant. Did you, sir, from your living with Mr. Francis, observe any particular attention paid by defendant to Mrs. Grand?—A very great partiality.

Who gave directions to make the ladder?—I gave directions.

You were apprehensive from defendant's going to Mrs. Grand's house; do you not think that it would have been better avoided by not letting him shift at your house?—I could not prevent him.

Why did you give the assistance for the ladder?—Mr. Francis requested me, and I could not refuse him any request that I did not think dishonourable.

When a person is going to the house of a man's wife in his absence, to see his wife at that hour of the night, and you apprehend that if he (the husband) comes home, dangerous consequences would happen, do you think it honourable to give that person assistance?—I did not think it lending assistance; it has been propagated in Calcutta that I have sent messages from defendant to Mrs. Grand. I now take this opportunity of declaring upon my oath that I never, directly or indirectly, carried any message, verbal or written, from defendant to Mrs. Grand or Mrs. Grand to defendant.

I shall ask no more questions, as I see we shall not agree upon the point of honour, for I confined honour to morality.

Simeon Droze examined.—Do you remember about the time when plaintiff was married did you hold any office there?—My name was made use of as one of the guardians. I was not present at the marriage.

Do you know Mrs. Grand's age?—I really do not know.

About what age was she when she came to the Settlement?—I have heard about sixteen, and from her appearance I supposed so.

Witness further deposed to the marriage—knew them to be a happy couple—frequently saw Mrs. Grand at public places and at the Harmonic.

By the Chief Justice:—Has plaintiff had any children?—No, not that I hear of.

Robert Sanderson examined.—Has known the plaintiff and his wife since their marriage; they lived in his house with him for ten months.

You have then, sir, had occasion to observe how they lived together, whether in a happy state or otherwise?—As much as I ever knew a married couple, during the time they were in my house. They went to Chandernagore, and afterwards an event* happened in my family which prevented my visiting anybody.

Are you acquainted with Mr. Grand's rank in life?—I know he is a Company's servant, and has an office in the Board of Trade.

You have heard what has been given in evidence in this action. Have you since that seen Mr. Grand?—I have.

In what condition was he?—As miserable as a man could be.

Of what period of time are you now speaking?—Of the first time that I saw him after this cruel affair.

Do you know what has occasioned their separation?—This affair, which has been given in evidence.

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* He refers to the death of his daughter, Mrs. Barwell.

You say you saw Mr. Grand after this transaction happened; to what do you impute his miserable state?—From the behaviour of Mr. Francis on this occasion.

Cross-examined.—You say you apprehend Mr. Grand's miserable state to be owing to Mr. Francis's behaviour to Mr. Grand's wife; explain, do you mean any that passed under your own eye or his supposed behaviour?—From his supposed behaviour.

Having gone through the sworn testimony of the eye-witnesses to this night's work, the readers, who wish to see a wonderful instance of woman's credulity, should turn to the account which Lady Francis has given as her version of the story; much of it has been reproduced in the second volume of Francis's "Memoirs," to which we must refer the curious. For the benefit of those not within reach of the book, we may briefly mention a few of the circumstances that they will be "surprised to hear," viz., that poor Mrs. Grand was married to "a dirty *old* sordid Frenchman," who treated her very badly, and who looked out for some means of paying off his heavy card losses. That Francis's sorrow for this ill-matched beauty melted into love, which was fanned into such passionate despair by the steady rejection of his overtures, that he fell into a fever, which lasted exactly six months. Pity now so moved the lady that she consented to one stolen interview. Where (like Antonio, it may be supposed, "In the best language his true tongue could tell him, and all the broken sighs his sick heart lend him,") Francis was in vain pleading his suit, when he was rudely set upon by a band of armed "ruffians" (purposely placed ready by Grand, who had got wind of the intended meeting), who, having first cunningly got possession of the lover's sword (fortunately for themselves), held him down in a chair, while the outraged husband called for a pistol to take the prisoner's life. Meantime the hapless lady, from the window of the room into which they had locked her, called out in fluent English, "For God's sake, come! they are murdering him." The *Deus ex machina*, who obeyed this summons, was the faithful little Ducarel, who "very resolutely rushed into the house" and sword in hand fell upon "the gang." Francis, on seeing his friend, "threw off those about him, who were glad to take refuge in flight, and the two adventurers made an orderly retreat."

The admiring and devoted wife who left this pyramid of sentimental fiction on record, professed to have got the materials from Francis himself. Truly there *is* a charity that believeth all things, and thinketh no evil.

Francis was not much given to recording his defeats. Yet he did make a note of this one in his diary, viz., "March 6th: Judgment against me in the Supreme Court."

Turning again to the notes of the industriously accurate Justice Hyde, we find what amount the judgment was for, viz. :—

"In the 2nd Term, 1779, on Saturday, March 6th: Judgment was pronounced for the plaintiff. Damages fifty thousand sicca rupees."

Then his Lordship adds, probably with some satisfaction,—"50,000 sicca rupees are equal to five thousand one hundred and nine pounds, two shillings and eleven pence sterling, reckoning according to the weight and fineness of the silver."

"Mr. Justice Chambers was of opinion, it was not proved the defendant had committed adultery; and therefore there ought to be judgment for the defendant."

Unfortunately, we are not able to give *verbatim* the judgment of the majority of the Court, as the volume in which Justice Hyde says that he has recorded this and the evidence and arguments is not now forthcoming;* but a copy of the dissenting Judge's opinion is in existence, having been printed by Hicky, in his newspaper, two months after Francis left India, and apparently with the object of making light of the charge, as the damages are airily mentioned as a "moderate sum," in comparison, we presume, with what might have been if Francis's persecutors had had their way, viz. :—

"*Sir Robert Chambers's opinion or protest in the cause of Grand* versus *Francis.*

"I am fully of opinion that the charge in the plaint is not proved:

"1st.—Because it appears to me that there is no proof, either positive or circumstantial, that Mrs. Grand knew of, or previously consented to, his (Mr. Francis's) coming for any purpose, much less for the purpose of adultery.

"2nd.—Because there is no proof, either direct or founded on violent presumption, that they were actually together, much less was there any proof that they committed any crime together.

"3rd.—Because the evidence appears to me to fall short of what

* In the short memoir of Sir R. Chambers by his widow an extract from his will is given, from which it appears that some note-books (about twelve in number) were bequeathed to him by his Brother Hyde. These ought to contain valuable and curious information, if still in existence.

is ordinarily considered as proof of any fact, and especially of any crime.

"4th.—Because it falls exceedingly short of what our Common Law considers as proof of adultery.

"And lastly, because I have never read or heard of any action for *crim. con.*, in which a verdict has been given for the plaintiff on such presumptions of guilt."*

To this opinion Mr. Hicky subjoins the following *nota bene* :—

"Sir Robert Chambers held the distinguished post of Vinerian Professor at Oxford, when he was appointed a Judge at the Supreme Court; and Sir Elijah Impey was Council (*sic*) on the side of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and Lady Grosvenor in that memorable *crim. con.* affair. Hudibras observes :—

"'What shall we say when Doctors disagree,
And soundest Casuists doubt like you and me?'"

He then adds, with glib confidence :—

"In legislation, Heliogabalus, though a sad dog, instituted one very favourable and just law, which was the establishing a female jurisdiction to sit judgment upon all trials relative to the sex."

In the face of the above very decided opinion of Justice Chambers, there seems very little foundation for the story (repeated by Kaye), that he weakly named thirty thousand rupees as a compromise between the one hundred thousand said to be suggested by Hyde and the fifty thousand by Impey.

Nor does there seem to be any foundation for the other time-honoured story (also repeated by Kaye) in connection with this judgment, viz., the alleged interruption of the Chief Justice, while he was delivering judgment, by Mr. Justice Hyde, with the eager suggestion or reminder of "siccas, siccas, Brother Impey," with the view of making the damages as high at the awarded figure as possible. Mr. Merivale says that he could find no confirmation of the old joke; it was probably invented to point the moral as to the reputed virtuous indignation of Hyde against all "gallantry in the chamber." The story seems to have been first promulgated in a

* Sir James Stephen ("Nuncomar and Impey," Vol. 2, p. 112), judging of course only from the evidence brought forward in the preceding account of the trial, thinks Impey (and Hyde) wrong; and that the damages awarded were exorbitant for a mere trespass with intent to seduce.

book of "Personal Recollections," by John Nicholls, M.P., published in 1822. The author was in the House of Commons with Francis, and had known Impey and Hyde before they went to India. He mentions the Francis-Grand episode, giving such an inaccurate account of it that it is clear he is merely retailing hearsay gossip; for instance, he speaks of Mrs. *Le* Grand being admired for her beauty, for the sweetness of her temper, and for her fascinating accomplishments; and of Mr. Francis descending from the lady's apartment "by a rope ladder *after* an alarm had been raised," &c., &c. The evidence derived from such a source is very questionable; but the story is not supportable from any point of view. Without attaching too much importance to the improbability of a Puisne Judge on such an occasion addressing the Chief Justice as "Brother," instead of "My Lord," we have but to see that the damages were laid in the plaint in siccas, and were presumably as a matter of course, awarded in the same coin.*

Francis was also mulcted in the plaintiff's costs of the suit amounting to sicca rupees 947-8.

Mr. Grand omits to say in his Narrative that, having secured Francis's rupees,† he next proceeded to settle accounts with Shee, whose friendly offices "to save his *noble* patron" on two occasions Mr. Grand was evidently not disposed either to forget or forgive.

The law was the weapon which he again had recourse to. To

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* Indeed, it would seem that even though "siccas" were not specified in the plaint, the judgment would have contemplated them in the word "rupees." This would appear to be the inference from the following case reported in Hyde's own notes, viz.:—"An action for assault and imprisonment. An assault was proved, but no very great injury; therefore the Court thought three hundred rupees sufficient damages.

"In the plaint the damages were alleged 'eighty thousand rupees'" (how unconscionable litigants seem to have been in appraising their damages in the last century), "without saying what sort of rupees. Impey said, if this is so wholly uncertain as to have no meaning at all because it is not said current, Arcot, sonaut, sicca or some other particular sort of rupees, then defendant may take advantage of it in arrest of judgment. Hyde: I incline to think 'rupees' named without any distinction must mean siccar upees, because those are the proper coin of this country. I proposed to let the Advocate for the plaintiff choose what kind of rupees we should name for the damages, as he judged would be best for his client if a motion in arrest of judgment should be made, and Impey assented to it. The Advocate named sicca rupees, and we gave judgment accordingly."

† Filed with the other papers in this suit is one duly witnessed and signed by Grand in which he acknowledges himself to be "fully satisfied, contented and paid."

see what the nature of the action was, we must for the last time rely on the quaint fidelity of Justice Hyde's note:—

"*3rd Term.*

Thursday, June 24th, 1779.

Present:

SIR E. IMPEY, MR. JUSTICE CHAMBERS, and MR. JUSTICE HYDE. [Hyde came first; Impey second; the Court sat at 9-45; Chambers came about 10-15.]

G. F. Grand versus *George Shee.*

"An action of trespass, for breaking and entering the house of the plaintiff on the eighth day of December, 1778. The plaint states first breaking and entering the house."

Mr. Grand did not make much by this, as the verdict was "one rupee damages and one rupee costs."

In Francis's diary there is the briefest allusion to this wind-up of the legal proceedings arising out of his evil-doing, and, with the proverbial feeling of the transgressor to the man he has injured, he adds this comment: "A la fin ce scélérat est écrasé."

This may be the most fitting opportunity for briefly endeavouring to trace the personal feelings of Francis towards the Judges who tried this case, with the object of seeing what ground there may be for the charge that he afterwards allowed influences, presumably arising out of the verdict, to actuate not only his private, but his public conduct in regard to those men.

As regards Chambers, the defendant in the late suit would have been less than human, if he had not ever afterwards thought of him as a "wise and upright Judge, an excellent young man."

Without in the smallest degree insinuating that Chambers's dissent from the verdict was influenced by considerations independent of those springing from an honest weighing of the evidence, it may be pointed out that long before (as well as after) the trial, he and Francis were the closest official allies, if indeed not something more.

So far back as November, 1777, we find Francis noting as follows in his Journal: "Show Chambers my recommendation of him to Lord North. He pledges himself to me in return."

A month later, when the overtures for a coalition between Hastings and Francis immediately on the arrival of Wheler fail, owing to the latter's flat refusal to the plan of accommodation pro-

posed through Elliot, he puts an N. B. in his diary: "Justice Chambers entirely approves my resolution." On another occasion, when, during a private visit to Hastings, the latter "professes the warmest resentment against the supreme court," Francis communicates this to Chambers.

In the November following the trial he chronicles that he stands godfather to Chambers's son.

Francis has been described as a good hater, but he could also be a good friend, ever active and aggressive in behalf of his friendship as well as of his enmity. This is abundantly shown in his letters to India after his return to England, where his intrigues to supplant Impey by Chambers were incessant; and the inference from those letters is irresistible, that Francis's action in this respect was dictated by no public spirit, but by a desire to gratify private feelings. He had been barely at home a month, when in a letter to Sir John Day he says, "Nundcomar is returned, and like Cæsar's ghost with Ate by his side, is now raging for revenge." A month later when writing for the second time to Chambers (whom henceforth he habitually addresses as "dear friend") he encourages him thus:—

"Notwithstanding anything Impey may tell you to the contrary, be assured from *me* that, except Mr. Dunning, the Supreme Court have not a friend or approver even in Westminster Hall. The Chancellor will either give up or certainly not defend Impey. He is a condemned man. There is no power that either can or is inclined to save him from public disgrace at the best. The friends of Hastings have tried every artifice to make it be believed that you were implicated by accepting a post of profit in the Police; but I have cleared you completely up to the end of last year, and it stands rather better than if you had (*sic*, had not?) been so charged.* . . . . . With respect to *your* interests you may rest assured that I will be alert in my attention to them. But you must be aiding and assisting them yourself. Hyde is despised in the same way in which Impey is execrated. *You* must stand clear and wide of both."

Again, soon after Impey's return to England, Francis writes to Sir R. Chambers, after reminding him that "I have always con-

* Mr. Impey, in the Memoir of his father, says that soon after the recall of Sir Elijah had been carried, notice of motion was given in the House of Commons for a censure on Sir R. Chambers for having accepted the office of Company's Chief Justice at Chinsurah, but that it was postponed and dropped finally, owing to the interposition of Francis with his friend General Smith who had given the notice, and who was also chairman of the Committees of the House.

fided in your friendship." "As soon as Mr. Hastings is disposed of one way or another, I have reason to believe that the impeachment of the other (Impey) will be attempted, and with some better prospect of success." He then gloatingly adds: "To the best of my judgment he will be hard run, and I hear he is very uneasy about it. . . . Let the event of the prosecution be ever so favourable to him, a minute and public inquiry into all his conduct cannot but be very afflicting to him."

To his *fidus Achates*, Shee, he writes about the same time (December, 1786) in a similar strain:

"The prosecution of your friend, Mr. Hastings, will be revived with a renewal of vigour as soon as Parliament meets. He has had a pleasant summer of it.

"An attempt will also be made to impeach Sir Elijah Impey, in whose fate I know you are interested."

And lastly, when Sir Robert Chambers is at length confirmed as Chief Justice* Francis writes out to congratulate him on an advancement: "So long and so dearly earned, and so well deserved;" and after thanking God that he has got it, he finally assures him: "I look back to old times, and remember old friends with a tender, affectionate interest, considering them as objects in which I have long had a property."

After this digression we go back to the sequence of events.

That the nocturnal expedition at whose finale so many members of society assisted, soon became public property—goes without saying; and that it made a great noise in Calcutta may be gathered from these two entries in Francis's Journal:

"*December* 12th, 1778.—Handsome behaviour of Wheler against the clamours of this cursed place."

"*December* 13th.—H. and B. (Hastings and Barwell) mean enough to send that business home to the Court of Directors."

Francis in his private letters, too, at this time expresses his annoyance at the Governor-General's frequently bringing the scandal before the Council; he felt, and probably with some reason

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* Though Impey arrived in England in June, 1784, no motion about complaining of his conduct was made in the Commons till Dec., 1787.

In the previous month he resigned his office which (with its salary ?) he held for four years after leaving India. Chambers was not gazetted Chief Justice in his place till 22nd Jan., 1791, and sworn in on 3rd Sept. in the same year. The *Calcutta Chronicle* says that a salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William on the occasion.

that this sudden censoriousness came badly from the husband of Mrs. Imhoff and from the "gallant" of her fellow voyager, Sarah Bonner, who had himself shocked even Calcutta in quite recent memory. As usual he took care that Lord North should get early intimation of the affair from himself. Hicky, ever on the alert to vilify Hastings, and indirectly palliate the conduct of Francis, has the following "anecdote" with reference to the above in his *Gazette* for 1781:

"An intimate friend of Mr. B—w-ll's expressing to him one day his surprise that he should second Mr. H—— in that extraordinary and illiberal censure which appeared on the proceedings of the C—t on the conduct of Mr. F——s respecting Mrs. G——, replied with great ironical humour: 'By G-d I did not wish it, but I could not help it. I envy F—— beyond measure, but I must go along with H—— in these matters.' The latter part of the confession may be of some little apology for Mr. B—— on the score of necessity, but what possible excuse can be found for his colleague in offering so warmly to censure a vice which his whole life had uniformly passed in the practice of, unless, indeed, we suppose it to be the second act of his penitence, as we may reckon the first the honourable alliance he had previously entered into.

"When this gentleman* was proposed some years ago in Leadenhall Street to be sent out high in his office, his abilities, among other qualifications, were mentioned. 'Abilities,' replied Lord Clive, with a mixture of contempt and indignation,—'I knew him some time in India, and never heard of any abilities he possessed, except for seducing the wives of his friends.'"

It was not apparently for about three months after the trial that Mrs. Grand consented to pass into the "protection" of Francis. It is not improbable that he went to Chandernagore to seek her, and that the following entries point to the renewal of their intimacy, with its result:

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* It is not very clear to which gentleman Hicky wishes to refer to here. I'm inclined to think to Barwell; though it is quite possible that the anecdote composer may not have known that Clive was *not* in the habit of expressing himself disparagingly of Hastings' abilities. It was Clive who got Hastings sent in Council to Madras; and when Hastings was promoted to Governor of Bengal, Clive wrote to him, "I am convinced that you have not only abilities but personal resolution, &c." . "I am sure that you are not wanting in abilities." —The notoriety of Barwell's infatuation about the enchantress who posed as a married woman, though not really so, may have reached Clive. (See Appendix.)

"*June 26th*, 1779.—At Chandernagore: *ut vidi, ut perii.*

"*June 27th*, 1779.—At Chandernagore: curious explanation with La Merlière, *à ce qui me paraît on ne demande pas mieux, &c.*"

Francis seems to have deferred to respect for appearances so far as not to have received the lady into his house in Calcutta. In this he acted in accordance with a rule he laid down on first arriving in India. Among his papers his biographer found the following, entitled "Hints for my own conduct." It contains seventeen sagacious maxims which he proposed to act up to. The twelfth of these begins "If *certain connections* should be formed, to keep at a distance." The two words underlined by Francis most probably refer to a possible entanglement such as we find him walking into now. It is interesting too to note that his action now is consistent not only with the above maxims, but with the particular in the code of ethics, the violation of which he had some years before denounced as especially disgraceful.

When Francis, as Junius and Philo-Junius, is scathing the Duke of Grafton, he writes (referring to the notoriety of the Prime Minister's liaison with Miss Nancy Parsons), "But if vice itself could be excused, there is yet a certain display of it, a certain outrage to decency and violation of public decorum, which, for the benefit of society, should never be forgiven. It is not that he kept a mistress at home, but that he constantly attended her abroad. It is not the private indulgence, but the public insult of which I complain. The name of Miss Parsons would hardly have been known if the First Lord of the Treasury had not led her in triumph through the Opera House, even in the presence of the Queen." In another letter to the same personage he says, "For the sake of your mistress the lover shall be spared. I will not lead her into public as you have done. . . Her sex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her respectable in mine."

There is little doubt that Francis established Mrs. Grand at Hooghly, and his Journal shows that he made frequent trips there during the last half of the year 1779, while his thoughts were much occupied on matters amatory, *viz.*:

"*September 9th.*—Go up to Hughley, where I propose to stay till we hear decisively from England. If it be possible to avoid it, I will never meet these villains in Council again."

"*September 17th.—O! Cara Phillide, rendi mi il cor.*

"*September 29th.—Quæ spiravit amores.*"

"*October 12th.*—In the evening returned to Hughely."

"*October* 16*th*.—At Hughely."

"*October* 17*th*, *Sunday*.—Ditto : *Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident simplices nymphæ*."

"*November* 2*nd*.—At Hughely, where I propose to stay as long as I can, and visit Calcutta as seldom as I can. Last night an invitation was sent to me from Mr. and Mrs. Hastings to dine with them to-morrow. Considering the terms on which we parted yesterday, and that I never received such an invitation before, it is an odd unaccountable circumstance, and subject to infinite speculation."

"*November* 6*th*.—At Hughely."

"*November* 7*th*.—Go to Council in the evening."

"*November* 8*th*.—Council. Return at night to Hughely."

"*November* 15*th*.—Return at night to Hughely. *Quoquo vestigia tendit, componit furtim subsequiturque decor*."

"*November* 20*th*.—Hughely. *Pulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis publica cura*."

"*November* 21*st*.—Ditto, all these days at Hughely, busily employed in writing letters home. Return at night to Calcutta."

"*November* 24*th*.—Return at night to Hughely ; *ferus et Cupido semper ardentes acuens sagittas*."

This is the last entry in his Journal that refers to the Hooghly attraction ; there is no further allusion to Mrs. Grand (at least in the extracts which his biographer gives from his Indian diary), unless the asterisks in the following stand for her name.

"*February* 17*th*, 1780.—This day Mr. Barwell sends to desire leave to pay his respects to * * * * ; offers of a passage to England, &c."*

Barwell sailed from Calcutta in the *Swallow* on March 3rd, 1780, having two days previously gone to Francis's house, as the diary records, "to take leave with a fine palavering speech."

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* The whole entry of February 17th shows that the writer was at the time in Calcutta. Could Barwell's proposed visit refer to the house in Calcutta ? If so the lady (conjecturally) veiled by the asterisks may have after all come there, and this may account for no further record of visits to Hughely. In *Hicky's Gazette*, in January, 1780, is advertised "an elegant modern built-house at Hughely, lately inhabited by Major Baggs." So that cousin Baggs was domiciled at Hooghly in 1779, while Francis was so frequently there to and fro, and may have contributed to the sociability of the latter's menage, and officiated as Cerberus over the shrine, during the councillor's reluctant absences at Calcutta. The world perhaps could not have afforded a more efficient one. Major Baggs was ordered out of India by the Court of Directors, and started on January 3rd, 1780—then Francis may have brought his unprotected friend to Calcutta—all this of course is wild speculation.

If the entry of the 17th refers to a proposal of Barwell's that Mrs. Grand should be a passenger in the *Swallow* under his auspices, Francis, holding the ideas of Barwell which he did, regarded it probably with as much composure as he would a proposal to pen a wolf and a lamb into the same fold. In any case, the presumption is strong that Mrs. Grand did not leave India for several months later; there can be little doubt I think that the following paragraph from Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, December 2nd, 1780, refers to her: "Samuel Tolfrey, Esq." (whose name we have seen as that of one of Francis's attorneys in the trial) "has embarked for Europe with a fortune of three lakhs of rupees: he intends proceeding from Celon (*sic*) or Coringa in the Dutch ship that carries home Mrs. G——d."*

Now Francis himself, according to a letter of Warren Hastings, left India on December 3rd, 1780, having first "engaged a passage in a Dutch ship, which he has left for one in the *Fox*," and this is explained by the very last entry in the Indian diary so often alluded to: "*7th November.*—Discover at last that it is impossible to go in the Dutch ship, so resolve to take my passage in the *Fox*,† Captain Blackburn."

The probability is against there being two Dutch passenger ships starting from Calcutta or from Chinsurah in those times within a few days of each other, the likelihood being that the ship alluded to in Hicky, and that in which Francis had first engaged a passage, were the same; if so, Francis at first clearly contemplated accompanying Mrs. Grand on her voyage to Europe.

I have thought it worth while to attempt to clear up this point,

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* I have retained the letters which I conjecture stand for Grand, thus G——d; but Mr. Beveridge shows that the entry in Hicky is printed thus, Mrs. 'G——d—.,' as though a word of two syllables were meant. Such a symbol might stand for Gordon or any similar name. A careful search since through Hicky, who luxuriated in initials, shows that this would be the solitary instance of a dyssyllabic name being so indicated. He occasionally gave the middle and final letters, as well as the initial (*e.g.*) C—t—l (Cotterell), often the first and last (*e.g.*), Miss S——r (Sadlier); sometimes only the first letter, Miss C. (Chantry); but he never indicated a proper name of two syllables by the first and middle letter omitting the final. I believe, therefore, the short stroke and the full stop after the "d" to be an instance of what is frequent in Hicky, a typographical error. But I confess that the inference which I draw from the symbol is much weakened by what Mr. Beveridge points out (see his "Nanda Kumar," p. 147, note).

† According to the *Shipping Intelligence* of the month, Francis's fellow-passengers in the *Fox* were Mr. Harwood, Mr. Tilman (*sic*), Mr. and Mrs. Lacam, and Mrs. Evins.

as some writers have more than hinted, that even in India Francis was not the only "protector" into whose hands Mrs. Grand fell —a surmise for which there does not seem to be the least foundation.

Lord Mahon for instance in his History (Vol. VII.) goes so far as to name the other gentleman with whom Mrs Grand was said to have "returned to Europe as the companion" when "forsaken" by Francis, viz., a Mr. William Macintosh. He refers to an unpublished biography of Mr. Charles Macintosh (a quotation only from which he had seen in the *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 84) as his authority. M. Pichot, who probably only follows Lord Mahon, says while noticing the "Memoirs of Francis," "Aussi Francis, condamné voulut-il en avoir pour son argent, et il vécut pendant une année avec Mme. Grand jusqu à ce qu'elle se laissa enlever par un autre proctecteur qui l'emmena en Europe."

The biography alluded to by Lord Mahon is a very inconsiderable brochure by the son of the Macintosh who invented the waterproof preparation which bears his name. An appendix of a few pages professes to give some account of the writer's uncle, William Macintosh, which is rather rambling, and certainly does not savour of authenticity—indeed a good deal of it is simple rubbish. The foundation of the story in the *Quarterly Review* which Lord Mahon thought worth referring to, is probably this sentence: "What gives some additional colour to the probability of such having been the case, is the circumstance of the intimacy which at one time subsisted between Mr. William Macintosh and Madame Grand, afterwards Princess Talleyrand. This lady was a native of Scotland, had been the widow of a British officer, and married as her second husband a French gentleman, who afterwards obtained a divorce from her in India; the defendant in the action being the celebrated Mr. (afterwards Sir Philip) Francis. Madame Grand returned with Mr. William Macintosh to Europe in 1781."

This William Macintosh was the author of a very trumpery book of travels in Europe, Asia, etc., published in 1782. He was for a few months in India in 1779. He left Calcutta in the *Ganges* on February 6th, 1780, and joined the convoy which left Madras in the April following.

As said before there is strong presumption that Mrs. Grand was still with Francis on February 17th. There is abundant internal evidence in the travels (which are written in the form of letters to friends describing the progress of his journey) which convinces me that Madame Grand was not a fellow passenger in the ship with

Macintosh, nor one of the two ladies (with their four children) whom he eventually landed with and took care of in Ireland, in January, 1781. To justify my conviction on this point, which is supported by certain facts in "Price's Observations" on Macintosh's travels, would take up more time than could reasonably be given to it here.*

PART II.

The story having thus taken Mrs. Grand out of India, we had now better return to the Narrative, to get a general idea of Mr. Grand's after-doings as a Bengal civilian in the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century. Immediately after the trial, *viz.*, in April, 1779, his "health being sensibly affected," he "was advised by those friends who deeply felt for him, to change the air;" and a berth was secured for him in Patna, by an exchange of appointments with Mr. J. H. Taylor, Head Commercial Assistant to the Factory there.

In 1781 he appears to have been in Benares during Hastings' visit there, and to have joined in the night escape to Chunar after the tumult, as he gives the names of several of those who comprised Hastings' suite on the night of 21st August.

The following extract seems to show that Francis's sicca rupees went eventually towards founding an enterprise in Tirhoot, which has since grown into a magnificent "industry."

"In 1782 I was transferred by Mr. Hastings from Head Assistant to a commercial factory (in which the duty consisted of prizing (*sic*) cloths, seeing saltpetre weighed and loaded, attending to the accounts, &c.) to the government of two considerable provinces, involving the settlement and collection of revenues and maintenance of justice; the provinces were Tirhoot and Hajeepoore.

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* Mr. Beveridge conjectures that Madame Grand went home in the *Ceres*, because on March 17th, 1780, Francis puts in his diary, "Despatch the *Ceres*." This ship joined at the Cape the convoyed fleet, amongst which was Macintosh's ship the *Ganges*. But a search through *Hicky's Gazette* shows us who the Calcutta passengers were who sailed in the *Ceres*, Captain Snow, on March 18th, 1780—viz., "Mrs. Ireland, who lately arrived in the *Talbot*, the lovely Miss Webb, for the recovery of her health, and Commodore J. Richardson." Surely when the departure of loveliness was chronicled with such precision Mr. Hicky would not have omitted Mrs. Grand.

"I took possession of a country yielding a revenue of above seven laacks of rupees, but which had suffered from the depredation committed by those who were compelled to abandon the charge to me, and had besides been in revolt owing to the intrigues of the Rajah of Benares, Cheyt Sing, whose baneful influence had spread so far, and would have spread further, had he not been checked in time by Mr. Hastings' wise and spirited measures.

"I recovered a large balance due from the farmers to Government, quieted and appeased without bloodshed every disturbance, brought back the disobedient to a just sense of their errors, augmented the revenue, *introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner*, * encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, erected three at my own expense, and thus possessed at that moment a fortune of £15,000 sterling, looked forward to a proportionate augmentation by continuing in my station and extending my manufactories, which, with my houses, lands, furniture, tent equipage, horses, boats, stood then upon a valuation of £10,000 more."

In the *Bengal Gazette*, Feb., 1782, Hicky records his transfer of Grand to Tirhoot in his usual delicate style. "Mr. G.——, who has lately been much employed in reading and digesting Milton on divorce, will, we hear, in a few days, be appointed collector of Turott (*sic*) in the Bahar province."

While Grand was holding this Tirhoot appointment he wrote a letter to the Chief Justice which is in original amongst the Impey MSS. It shows that the writer was not only quarrelsome and factious, but a sneaking sort of man also. His object was to bespeak the Chief Justice's influence while forwarding the following copy of a Government letter which seemed to give him much dissatisfaction. He signs his rather grovelling letter to Impey, "your obliged and most devoted friend and servant."

"The Honble. the Governor-General and Council having passed a decision on the charges preferred by you against the Judge of the Adawlut at Derbungah, have directed us to inform you that the charges appear to be grounded entirely on the misrepresentation of your servants, and desire you will be more cautious in future. They have also expressed their satisfaction at the conduct of the judge throughout the whole matter laid before them." "8th May, 1783."

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* The passage I have italicised is confirmed by some remarks made in a suit in Equity in 1794 about an indigo concern in which Grand was defendant. The *Calcutta Chronicle* in reporting his legal proceedings says, "Mr. Grand, by very extensive works having laid the foundation of that valuable manufacture in Behar." Mr. John Prinsep is generally believed to have introduced indigo making into Bengal.

Lord Cornwallis arrived in September, 1786, and Mr. Grand went to Calcutta to pay his respects to his new chief, and to make reports and suggestions, "as," he unaffectedly observes, "one of the ablest revenue servants and one of the most intelligent regarding the customs and usages prevailing in the provinces of Behar."

A measure soon followed, which seems to have taken Mr. Grand quite by surprise, and to have been inexplicable to him, though to us, perhaps, the reason is plain enough, seeing that it was ordered by the Govenor-General who first established purity and justice as the pillars of our rule in India, and who put a stop to the unsalutary combination of executive authority with commercial pursuits.

He thus pathetically refers to the hard fate that overtook him:—

"On the 26th August, 1787, I was in full possession of my appointment, and my fortune was in that progressive state as described in 1785. I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, elegance, and luxury of life. I was beloved and respected by those living with me; my assistants, Messrs. David van der Heyden (since M.P. for Westloe), Mr. Henry Colebrooke (since Member, Supreme Council), together with Mr. Steel, my surgeon, and Mr. Purvis, my private secretary (since retired to England with a considerable fortune derived from the indigo manufactories)† ; and I will say, because I challenge the contrary to be proved, almost venerated by the natives of every description under

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* My friend Mr. H. J. S. Cotton of the Bengal Civil Service showed me once a number of letters written by Grand from Tirhoot about revenue matters, between 1783 and 1787, which were thought worthy of republication by Sir George Campbell in a volume relating to certain periods of famine in India.

† Even accepting Mr. Grand's own account of himself, we can fancy what a short shrift such a district official, thus complacently serving two masters, had to expect at the hands of the writer of the following noble letter :—

'To————Esqr.

Sir,—My personal esteem for you and my sincere regard for my friend the Duke of Grafton, made me feel the deepest concern at being under the necessity of removing your son from his collectorship of—— From his general good character and from other circumstances I do not attribute his behaviour to corrupt motives; yet his official misconduct was of such a nature that I could not save him without marking a partiality which must have destroyed all respect for my Government. But although unfortunately mine is the duty of the rigid judge, an affectionate father has another part to act. It is for you to believe your son innocent of all moral wrong; and when you lament that the error into which he has fallen must materially affect his fortune, do not aggravate the calamity, which, God knows, is severe enough, by the addition of your unkindness.

I am, &c., &c.,
CORNWALLIS.

my government, whose tears on hearing of my removal accompanied me from the place of my residence to the bank of the Ganges, where the limits of the district ceased—a distance of twenty-five miles. On the 27th August, 1787, by one stroke of his Lordship's pen, was Mr. Robert Bathurst nominated Collector of Tirhoot and Hajeepore, and thus every hope and fair-built prospect existing on the preceding day completely blasted. Thus the blow was struck, and from that date I fell perhaps never more to rise. View the portrait and feel!!!"

In 1788, without solicitation on his part, he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Patna, an office which he describes "as a gold chain honourable but burthensome and totally bereft of every emolument." He was shortly afterwards directed to give up and dispose of his indigo concerns in Tirhoot; against this he remonstrated, and finally proving contumacious, and charges as to his conduct as Judge of Patna having been laid, he seems to have been removed from the Service.

He did not however leave India then, but remained there a few years longer, trying apparently to get reinstated. His name turns up occasionally in old Calcutta newspapers. Thus in December, 1793, he is found serving on the Grand Jury. In June, 1794, he is the officer employed to dispatch the Mail Packet for Europe from Diamond Harbour. In November of the same year he is one of the commissioners for a scheme of a general lottery. Finally he sailed for Europe in Feby., 1799, in a vessel carrying neutral colours. He changed into a small brig at the Cape, where he stayed for a short time, and eventually got to Dover in March, 1800.

Amongst his fellow passengers were Captains Richardson and Williams, and Leiut. Raban of the Bengal Infantry, and a Mahomedan of distinction, Mirza Aboo Taleb Khan. This last named gentleman afterwards wrote an account of his travels,* and in this we get a personal glance at the husband of Mrs. Grand, *viz.*:—

"A Mr. Grand was in the next cabin, a very passionate and delicate gentleman." In May a terrible storm overtook them. . . . . "During this scene Mr. Grand, who was of an enormous size, and whose cabin was separated from mine only by a canvas

* I am indebted to Mr. James Hutton, formerly connected with the Indian Press, for an introduction to this curious book, which is amusing for its views of English Society, where the author was taken in hand by the Mrs. Leo Hunter of those days, and called "The Persian Prince" (of course). The voyage to the Cape was a fearful experience. They were first of all detained over three weeks at Kedgeree, in the river, in a stifling badly found ship, through fear of the celebrated French frigate *La Forte*, which was playing havoc at the Sandheads. Finally to their heartfelt joy they saw her towed up the river by

partition, fell with all his might upon my breast and hurt me excessively; what rendered this circumstance more provoking was that if by any accident the smallest noise was made in my apartment he would call out with all that overbearing insolence which characterizes the vulgar part of the English in their conduct to Orientals, 'What are you about? You won't let me get a wink of sleep,' and such other rude expressions."

From the Court of Directors too he failed to get the redress which he had so calculated on that he had accepted pecuniary advances from friends, to reimburse whom he was obliged to sell all that he had, and to transfer his annuity for their benefit. As I shall have occasion later on to refer to the agency by which Mr. Grand was extricated from his difficulties, I had better give *verbatim* what he has chosen to tell us on this subject himself:

"After suffering privations and hardships which fell heavy at my time of life, I was relieved by the generosity of a friend, who had a lively remembrance of attachment, and obligation for the conduct which I had observed during prosperity. With what was left me out of this sum, being two-fifths of its amount, I departed for the Continent, my tried friends in England approving of the same, and repeating their assurance they would not be unmindful to bring forward my claims and a reconsideration of my case, when they saw a proper opportunity to exert themselves in behalf of their injured friend.

"By this same liberal friend was I offered a handsome pension to live at ease and to enjoy for the remainder of my days where the local (*sic*) was most agreeable; and even I was enjoined by the warmest friends of my youth and career in life, through whom this bounty was tendered, *viz.*, Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Wombwell, to accept of it, and quit the paths of ambition and the future trouble which might again arise and befall me from public situations.

"I rejected this munificence intended, not from pride, but from a consideration I had other ties which demanded I should not sink into perfect repose whilst active faculties permitted (me) to discharge with credit stations to which I might be elevated. With these sentiments I assented readily to the proposition subsequently made to me from the Batavian Government to repair to the Cape of Good Hope in a high station, with the promise of a higher, and the eventual assurance of

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her English capturer *La Sibylle*, who had lost twenty-five men and her gallant captain (Cook). The Frenchman, he says, was dismasted, and had two hundred killed and wounded. Fifteen small sloops were sent down from Calcutta for the conveyance there of the French prisoners. Aboo Taleb Khan's book is worth reading, if only for the glance it gives at what poor Anglo-Indians had to encounter who went down to the sea in ships searching for health, even in this century.

those friends to whose interest in my behalf I felt sincerely grateful, that both rank and fortune were once more within my reach, and that nothing would be spared to throw me into the state during my sojournment abroad of the truly pleasing one—*otium cum dignitate*; with these prospects and the fullest reliance of performance did I embark vested with my new honours after the treaty of Amiens in a time of profound peace, and with the strongest hope of its continuance, for my destination. The unfortunate war which soon burst out after my arrival, has deprived me of those advantages to which I looked with fond delight, not so much for what concerned me personally, but fo the gratification of others, and which, from the honesty of those on whose promises I implicitly trusted, I am persuaded I should otherwise have reaped. Accustomed to vicissitudes, nay seemingly born to experience such, I behold this last with philosophic contemplation, *flecti non frangi.*"

The occupation of the Batavian Republic having gone (on the Cape becoming a British Colony*), Mr. Grand was appointed by the new Commander, Leiutenant-General Sir David Baird, to be "Inspector of H.M.'s Woods and Lands;" but he seems soon to have lost this employment also, and then probably subsided into private life. The only other reference to him personally that I have seen is in Sir James Mackintosh's Memoirs, who, on his way home from Bombay (his ship having put in at the Cape), records in his diary: "*16th January*, 1812.—At the African Club, where I went to read Newspapers and Reviews, I met Mr. Grandt (*sic*), the first husband of Madame Talleyrand; he is rather a gentleman-like old man, a native of Lausanne, sent here with an office during the peace."

It is much to be regretted that there is a wide gap in the history of Mrs. Grand, for the filling up of which no materials of any authentic value seem yet to have come to light.

One would like to know how sixteen years in the very bloom of this beautiful woman's life were passed, and would like to believe that her lot was not "to be false unto many as faithless to one," which experience pronounces to be too frequently the fate of those with similar antecedents.

We certainly have what Lady Francis says on these points, and she professed to have open to her a source of information which probably could be most valuable; but unfortunately what this lady committed to paper concerning the Grand affair turns out to be such a compound of superficial truth and solid error, in those

* See Froude's "Oceana" as to how this came about.

particulars which can be submitted to proof, that we are bound to regard the whole of it with caution, and with the suspicion that much of what Francis in his old age chose to tell his second wife on this subject, was intended to amuse or to mislead

Still there is nothing very improbable in her account, which is briefly this, that, on Francis's arrival in England from India, Mrs. Grand went to reside in France, where she put herself into the charge of two respectable ladies, and though largely (if not mainly) dependent on the slender support which they could give her, she refused any assistance from Francis.* That he frequently went to see her in Paris and Spa, but that she, though acknowledging her affection for him and her attachment for no one else, "resisted the temptation of renewing the improper part of her intercourse with him." That he met her suddenly one day in England at the commencement of the French Revolution, and that she tried to avoid him; having been driven from France with other emigrants. she had determined, while in England, to remain concealed from him. And that, on the whole, she conducted herself with such decorum as finally "to secure a most brilliant establishment in marriage and the protection of the respectable Josephine." We may add, as in some degree confirmatory of the above, that a foot-note in Vol. II. of the Memoirs quotes a passage in a letter from Francis soon after his return to England to an intimate friend in India, which very probably refers to Mrs. Grand, *viz.*: "You will be glad to hear that ———— is established at Paris, creditably in the society of Madame Vanlée." We suspect that the 'n' in this last word is a misreading or misprint for 'r'; and remembering that Varlé is given in the Calcutta Marriage Register as the spelling of the maiden name of Mrs. Grand, it seems not unreasonable to infer that the blank stands for her, and that she was living with some relative on the father's side.

* There is an entry in Francis' Diary, early in 1782, "draft of Mackintosh, paid £1078 4s. 10d." Mr. Beveridge conjectures that this payment, the amount of which is so precisely noted, may have been for services connected with Mrs. Grand. If there be truth in the above statement of Francis to his wife, which perhaps is a violent hypothesis, this money could not have been for the benefit or use of Mrs. Grand. Mackintosh's nephew in the biography before mentioned says that when his uncle returned from the East Indies in 1781 he found that he had lost nearly all his property, and "upon this he went to France at the request of a friend who had property in jeopardy in that country, and the money which he invested in the French funds was a commission which he received in the shape of a percentage upon his recovering the property of the friend alluded to." Could this friend have been Madame Grand?

On the other hand, to show what sort of stories circulated in France relative to the years between Madame Grand's arrival there and her second marriage, one may be quoted, not because I believe it to be in the least more susceptible of proof than many others, but because it professes to be so circumstantial as to names, places, dates, &c., &c.

A work in four volumes published in London in 1834 (four years before his death), entitled "Life of Prince Talleyrand," is without the author's name, but is evidently a translation of a work published in French in Paris in the same year, the name of the author being given in the catalogue at the British Museum as C. M. de Villemarest. This book says correctly enough that Madame Grant (*sic*) was born at Tranquebar, and it produces what purposes to be a summary of an account given by a British Naval Officer, Lieutenant Nath. Belchier; namely, that Madame Grant succeeded in the month of August, 1792, in escaping from France, having witnessed under her very windows (in Rue de Mirabeau, afterwards called Rue de Montblanc) the massacre of the porter* of the house in which she resided. In her hurry she left behind everything she possessed, and landed at Dover with her maid, and with about twelve louis in her pocket.

There Belchier made her acquaintance, and learned that her property had been sequestered in France. The lady had been married in India to an English gentleman, the union did not prove happy, and she left India before her divorce from her husband was pronounced. This circumstance turned out most favorably, as she was thus still a British subject, and had the right to claim her property from the Government. A gentleman named O'Dryer set off with Belchier for Paris, with full powers to act for Madame Grand in the recovery of what was left there. In this they eventually succeeded; leaving Paris again on 19th November, carrying with them her property, part of which was gold, and much money and bank bills, diamonds, pearls, and other jewels, &c. Having overcome innumerable difficulties, they delivered her fortune back to Madame Grand, and both refused any pecuniary

* It will be remembered that it was on the 10th August, 1792, that the massacre of the Swiss guard occurred. So infuriated were the brutal mob at the heroic devotion shown by the guard at the Tuileries that almost all their countrymen, the Swiss porters in the hotels, &c., of the city, were butchered by bands of savages, who rioted through the streets after the sacking of the palace.

recompense. The account concludes by recording that Mr. Belchier calls God to witness (why is not apparent) that his only object was to thus succour a Royalist lady then very ill, and, in spite of her sufferings, of remarkable beauty. Though this work seems to have appeared in Madame Grand's lifetime, the translator in the English copy adds in the form of a foot-note, that the greater portion of the plate and objects of value thus preserved, did not belong to Madame Grand, but to a French nobleman, who was thought to have preceded the Bishop of Autun in her affections, and who, during many years of distress in England, was often heard to deplore that she had despoiled him of all the valuables he had left. The nobleman's name is given as Viscount de Lambertye, who is said to have returned some years after to France, and being in want, was advised to apply to the then Madame de Talleyrand. His demands were stated to be granted, he thought, at the suggestion of Talleyrand. Instead of four hundred thousand francs he consented to accept, without any written deed, nine francs daily, which were paid from 1808 till his death in 1813.

It is curiously suggestive that another work, published in London many years before the one just quoted from, alludes in an indirect way to the story attributed to Belchier. This book is in two volumes (London, 1805) written in a spirit most hostile to Talleyrand, and says, amongst other things, that, in a petition to the Directory in 1797, Madame Grand proved herself to have been a Danish subject, and that the Minister of Police allowed her as such to return to France with a Danish pass. In a foot-note in this book, reference is made to another, "Les intrigues de C. M. Talleyrand," which is alleged to say that when Mr. Grand heard of his wife's flight to England, not knowing her circumstances, *i.e.*, the wealth recovered for her by Belchier, forgot that he had been injured, and sent her "an unlimited credence from Switzerland." We know, of course, that Mr. Grand was in India in 1797; but I quote the statement for what it is worth, lest if, by any chance true, I should be omitting a circumstance which redounds highly to his credit. It will be remembered that in his Narrative he alludes mysteriously to "a friend" who was substantially grateful for conduct of his when in prosperity.

Many pages would be occupied were an attempt made to give even a summary of the fables written by French authors as to the first acquaintance of Madame Grand with Talleyrand. Their number seems to suggest how little was really known on a subject,

in regard to which information, one must suppose, from the many stories that were current, was eagerly sought.

In July, 1797, Talleyrand became Foreign Minister, through the influence, it is said, of Madame de Staël with Barras the Director. Some authors say, that it was very soon after this that Madame Grand came under his notice; one of them, indeed, declares that he had from the Prince himself, whose secretary he was, the circumstances of their first meeting which, in one form or another, are given by several writers, namely: that Madame Grand naïvely presented herself to the Minister of External Relations, in alarm at the report which she had heard from the best authority, that Bonaparte was about to invade England, and had promised to give the Bank of England up to pillage; her visit was with the object of begging Talleyrand to get a guarantee that her property, which was all locked up there, should be saved for her. That her friends, amongst whom was M. de Montrond, had advised her to hasten to him for this purpose. The story goes that the Foreign Minister saw the joke that had been played on her, but being too polite to tell her so, quieted her with a document guaranteeing the safe delivery of her plate, jewels, &c., to any person she may name, as soon as ever Bonaparte's army had entered London! The one point worth noting in this story is, that it keeps up the idea of the lady being in possession of considerable property in the days of the Directory.

A work which passed through several editions, published in London, before and about up to 1808, is entitled "The Female Revolutionary Plutarch." It professes to give an outline of the histories of many ladies, and of Mme. de Talleyrand amongst them. The retailing of scandal seems to be its sole object. The author's name is not given, but is acknowledged to be that of "The Revolutionary Plutarch," another defamatory production generally attributed to a M. Lewis Goldsmith, father of Lady Lyndhurst. In this book the details of the money and valuables recovered by Belchier (who was then only twenty-one) are given: the amount was over twenty five thousand pounds. Before her emigration it states, "the train of life she led at Paris was exceedingly extravagant; she was surrounded by depraved gallants." Talleyrand had been in her company at Paris before her arrival in England; but if among her admirers, he was never supposed to have gone farther. "In courting her in London he was at first more in love with her fortune than with her person, or rather by enjoying the one, he hoped to be enabled to dispose of the other." This work also says that after passing

four years in England Madame Grand returned to Paris under a fictitious name inserted in a neutral pass, and that she continued to reside with Talleyrand, incognito, till 1797. He then presented a petition to the Directory in her name, in which she proved herself to have been born a Danish subject, though married to an Englishman. This petition was approved by the Minister of Police, but from prudence she remained under the protection of the Danish Minister, Chevalier Dreyer. Her general Calcutta antecedents are also told in this book, with tolerable accuracy.

Other accounts say that about 1797 Madame Grand arrived in Paris from London, almost without resources, being charged by some émigrés with certain negociations which got her watched by the Police, and for protection from whom she sought an interview with Talleyrand, who was immediately captivated by her.

Even that most respectable authority, Madame de Rémusat, in her lately published Memoirs, allows a theatrical element in their first meeting. Her version is this, "Under the Directory Madame Grand wished to go to England, where her husband resided (*sic*), and she applied to M. de Talleyrand for a passport. Her beauty and her visit produced apparently such an effect upon him, that either the passport was not given, or it remained unused. Madame Grand remained in Paris; and shortly afterwards she was observed to frequent the Hotel of External Relations, and after a short time she took up her abode there."

However, as pointed out by M. Pichot, the accounts which assign 1797 as the date of the acquaintanceship are contradicted by a letter which M. Michaud (Junior) says that he himself saw, and which Talleyrand must have written early in 1796.

Whether Talleyrand met Madame Grand in England, where he was early in the Revolution, or elsewhere, it is circumstantially mentioned in the "Biographie Universelle" by Michaud, that she came to Paris with him from Hamburg in the first days of 1796; that Talleyrand had very little money then, and went into a modest furnished lodging. He soon had the vexation to see arrested and sent to prison his travelling companion, on suspicion of her having had intimate relations with some emigrants at Hamburg. To obtain her release, Talleyrand himself was obliged to write to Barras the Director. The characteristic letter, for the authenticity of which M. Michaud vouches, is probably known to many readers, but for those who may not have seen it, I here give it:—

"Citoyen Directeur :

On vient d'arreter Mme. Grand comme conspiratrice. C'est la personne d'Europe la plus eloignée et la plus incapable de se mêler d'aucune affaire. C'est une Indienne, bien belle, bien paresseuse, la plus désoccupée de toutes les femmes que j'aie jamais rencontrées. Je vous demande intérêt pour elle. Je suis sûr qu'on ne lui trouvera pas l' ombre de pretexte pour ne pas terminer cette petite affaire à laquelle je serais bien faché qu' on mit de l'eclat. Je l' aime—et je vous atteste à vous, d'homme à homme, qui de sa vie elle ne s'est mêlée et n'est en état de se mêler d'aucune affaire. C'est une véritable Indienne, et vous savez à quel degré cette espèce de femme est loin de toute intrigue.

Salut et attachement,
CH. M. TALLEYRAND."

Readers in India will, perhaps, conclude from the above, that the astute Talleyrand had something to learn about the dove-like proclivities of veritable "Indiennes."

M. Capefigue, who in a later edition of the "Biographie Universelle" calls Madame Grand "rare et nonchalante beauté indienne," says in allusion to the above letter :—

"De Talleyrand au temps du Directoire avait réclamé pour elle la protection de Barras et l'avait publiquement sollicité de lui rendre la liberté. On inserra dans les journaux un petit billet de Talleyrand écrit à Barras ; on en a depuis nie l'authenticité, il est impossible pourtant que personne ait imité ce ton, cette désinvolture du grand seigneur le vieil ami de Lauzun, ecrivant à un gentilhome roué, à Barras sur une affaire galante."

To conclude about this hiatus in Madame Grand's life which is so difficult to fill in, I may mention here that as a last resource I had an application made for information on this subject to the National Archives at Paris. Everything concerning the Foreign Minister's mistress and wife must have been thoroughly known to the French Police, more especially as her name seemed to have been often before them. It occurred to me that possibly something would be on record, which after so long a lapse of time might without indiscretion be made available for literary or historical purpose.

The answer which was sent to me from M. Alfred Maury, the Director-General, was as follows :—

"On a trouvé plusieurs dossiers au nom de Grand ; mais aucun ne se rapporte à la future Princesse de Benevent. Il est à supposer que s'il existait un dossier à son nom, il a été detruit comme bien d'autres pendant le ministere de Talleyrand et de Fouché."

This will be a good opportunity for seeing what French chroniclers of this time say of the beauty of Madame Grand, which soon became the theme of Paris society. M. Colmache was the author of a small volume, translated into English also, called "Revelations of the Life of Prince Talleyrand." In his position as secretary, he seems to have been admitted to the intimacy of the statesman, whose last moments also he witnessed and wrote an account of. He tells some interesting anecdotes about Talleyrand, and disposes of some venerable ones which had long passed current as genuine. He knew Madame Grand before her second marriage, but it is curious that he lays down rather authoritatively that her maiden name was Dayrl, her father a Breton, and that she was born at L'Orient, but taken in early infancy to India. However, as touching her personal attractiveness, his testimony, as that of an eye-witness, should not be open to cavil. "Madame Grand," he says, at the time of her re-appearance with Talleyrand, "had the kind of beauty which is the rarest and the most admired in Europe. She was tall and slight, with that languor in her carriage peculiar to creole ladies; her eyes were well open and affectionate (caressants), her features delicate, her golden hair playing in numberless curls, set off a forehead white as a lily. She had, moreover, preserved a child-like grace in her expression and throughout her whole person; it was this which distinguished her from those Parisian ladies who might, perhaps, rival her in beauty, and made her resemble rather Madame Recamier than Mme. Tallien or Mme. de Beauharnais." "The Female Revolutionary Plutarch," in describing her, remarks, 'With manners naturally easy, with passions naturally warm, and with principles light, she unites something pleasing, something seemingly unaffected, unstudied and simple." Madame de Rémusat says on the same subject: "She was tall, and her figure had all the suppleness and grace so common to women born in the East.* Her

* Nineteen years before Madame Grand saw the light, Southern India (Anjengo in Travancore) had given birth to another beauty, also, who was destined to bewitch two historical characters of high literary renown, viz., Eliza Draper (wife of a Bombay civilian) beloved by Sterne and by the Abbé Raynal. Some of her captivating graces are, as in the case of Madame Grand above, attributed to her Oriental birth. Raynal wrote that Eliza's name would for all time rescue the insignificant Anjengo from oblivion, and adds "Anjenga c'est à l'influence de ton heureux climat qu'elle devait sans doute cet accord, presque incompatible, de volupté et de decence qui accompagnait toute sa personne. Le statuaire qui aurait eu à representer la Volupté l'aurait prise pour modèle. Elle en aurait également servi à celui qui aurait eu à peindre la Pudeur."

complexion was dazzling, her eyes of the brightest blue; and her slightly turned-up nose gave her, singularly enough, a look of Talleyrand himself. Her fair golden hair was of proverbial beauty."

On Madame Grand's return to Paris one writer says that she resided at Montmorency, where Talleyrand visited her, and where high play was indulged in by those frequenting their society. He adds that "she was an inoffensive pleasing companion at table and beautiful as Venus herself, which was all that he (Talleyrand) looked for."

If we are to believe what some French authors say on the subject the marriage of Madame Grand with Talleyrand was brought about as dramatically as their first meeting.

Up to 1801 Talleyrand was under the ban of excommunication pronounced against him in 1790 by Pius the Sixth, and the liaison of the ex-Prelate, though a public scandal, might have been tolerated were it not that his demi-official receptions as Foreign Minister were held by Madame Grand. One account relates that Fouché brought to the notice of the First Consul a scurrilous article in an English newspaper upon him, whereon Bonaparte in a rage sent for Talleyrand: "No wonder," said he, "that we are villified in England when we expose ourselves to it by the conduct of our public Ministers; the Envoys and Ambassadors for Foreign Courts are, I understand, compelled to wait upon your mistress: this must not continue."

"Neither shall it," retorted Talleyrand, "they shall henceforth wait on my wife."

Madame de Rémusat gives a somewhat similar explanation of the marriage, but with the important exception that it was by no means a proposition of Talleyrand's. This lady, from her position at the French Court, had the best opportunities for learning the actual facts, and her version is, in all probability, the true one.

From this we learn that Madame Grand did the honors of Talleyrand's table and salon, and "with a good grace;" but that difficulties arose with the ambassadresses, some of whom would not consent to be received at the Foreign office by the lady presiding there, whereupon the latter complained, and the protests of both sides came to the ears of the First Consul, who at once sent for

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For a good deal about this Indian-born celebrity (whose tomb is in Bristol), and her manifold powers of charming, see "Life of Sterne," by Mr. Percy Fitzgerald.

Talleyrand and told him that Madame Grand must leave the house. This was not so easy to accomplish. Madame Grand, with admirable promptitude, went to Josephine and supplicated her to procure her an interview with Bonaparte, to whose presence she was admitted. Contemporary evidence tells us that at this time she was, though not in the hey-day, still in the rich maturity of her charms; she was nine and thirty. But what of that? A woman is never any older than she looks; and Napoleon, when afterwards disparagingly alluding to her at this epoch, acknowledged that "elle etait très-belle femme."

At the interview with the First Consul she fell on her knees—and very probably it was the old story—woman's best weapons, tears and cajoling, triumphed once again, for the softened Bonaparte dismissed her saying, "I see only one way of managing this,—let Talleyrand marry you, and all will be arranged. You must bear his name, or you cannot appear in his house." Once bent on making a marriage Bonaparte lost no time, but at once conveyed his decision to Talleyrand, and gave him but twenty-four hours to think about it.

These hours were so well employed by the lady herself, that Talleyrand reluctantly assented, influenced, as Madame de Rémusat conjectures, by "the remains of love, the power of habit, and also perhaps by the fear of irritating a woman whom it is impossible to suppose he had not admitted to his confidence."

Josephine too is said to have been a warm advocate for the furtherance of Madame Grand's wishes. The marriage was performed very soon, but even the place where this occurred is in dispute amongst French writers, some saying that it was in the village of Epinay by a curé, others, before one of the Mayors of Paris. Its date was 10th September, 1802.

In the preceding year Talleyrand had obtained from Pius the Seventh a revocation of the excommunication passed on him by the previous Pope, and a sanction for his return to secular life.* Though he himself believed this to be authorization enough for his entry into the marriage state as a layman, the Pope did not, and highly resented the step, and, it is said, made it a condition, when he afterwards came to the French Court, that no one should

* The words in the Papal brief are, "ouvrant donc à votre égard les entrailles de notre charité paternelle, nous vous dégageons par la plenitude de notre puissance du lien de toutes les excommunications. Nous vous accordons le pouvoir de porter l'habit séculier, et de gerer toutes les affaires civiles."

present to him "cette dame."* Talleyrand's own relations also were said to be much outraged, so much so, that his mother declined any longer to accept the allowance which her distinguished son made her.

The First Consul also looked askance at the lady whose marriage he had promoted; whether he did so to wound Talleyrand, whom he really never liked, but whom he could not do without, or from personal objection to herself, is not very clear. At any rate, according to Madame de Rémusat:

"He treated her coldly, even rudely; never admitted her to the distinctions of the rank to which she was raised without making a difficulty about it; and did not disguise the repugnance with which she inspired him, even while Talleyrand possessed his confidence. Talleyrand bore all this, never allowed the slightest complaint to escape him, and arranged so that his wife should appear but seldom at Court. She received all distinguished foreigners on certain days, and on certain other days the Government officials; she made no visits, none were exacted from her. Provided each person bowed to her on entering and leaving his salon, Talleyrand asked no more; he always seemed to bear with perfectly resigned courage the fatal 'tu l'as voulu of Molière's comedy.

In no aspect of the case, therefore, could Talleyrand be congratulated; bullied in the first place by Bonaparte because he was not married, and then in disgrace with the Pope, because he was.

The first Consul was remarkable for the want of even the ordinary courtesy of a gentleman to ladies, but so pronounced did his cold demeanour to this attractive woman appear to court society, that the wits of the day felt bound to seek some cause for it, not lying on the surface; and accordingly this was one of the anecdotes accounting for his resentment, which went around.

When Madame de Talleyrand appeared first at Court after her marriage, Bonaparte, with patronizing impertinence, expressed a hope to her, that the future good conduct of the citizeness Talleyrand would cause to be forgotten the indiscretions (légèretés) of Madame Grand; to which the bride naively rejoined, that in this respect, perhaps, she could not do better than follow the example of the Citizeness Bonaparte!†

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* Pie VII. n' appela jamais Madame de Talleyrand que *cette dame—questa donna.*—"Biog. Univ.")

† Madame Junot gives a characteristic instance of the manner in which Napoleon went out of his way sometimes to distress ladies by his insolence.

Napoleon himself has given a very sufficient reason for his action regarding Madame Talleyrand, if he is to be believed. When speaking to O'Meara at St. Helena in a tone of very moral elevation, (the austerity of which will perhaps sound strange to modern readers who know his own multitudinous *liasons* and moral obliquities), he said: "The triumph of Talleyrand was the triumph of immorality; a priest married to the wife of another, and who had given a large sum to her husband for permission to retain his wife; a man who had sold everything and played the traitor to every side and everyone. I forbad Madame T. to come to my Court, chiefly because her reputation was run-down (decriée), and because I discovered that some Genoese merchants had paid her 400,000 francs in the hope of obtaining some commercial favours through the intervention of her husband." If true, not a bad stroke of business, it has been remarked, for one reputed to be a fool.

It was at Neuilly that the Talleyrands lived after the marriage, and that Sir Elijah Impey visited them immediately after the peace of Amiens; and, if there be any foundation for the sentimental scandal of Lady Francis, even the mature bosom of the ex-Chief Justice was not invulnerable to the witcheries of his hostess. But as an extraordinary statement, made in connection with this renewal of acquaintanceship between old Calcutta friends, will compel me again to refer to Mr. Grand's Narrative, I must be particular in quoting it exactly, more especially as it seems to have been accepted as true by the English and French writers who have reproduced it. In the life of Sir E. Impey, by his son, page 386, we find the following:—

"Among the persons whom we met in the very mixed society of Paris, was the ci-devant Mrs. Le Grand (*sic*), who had lately been married to M. de Talleyrand, then Minister for Foreign Affairs.

At a ball given at Neuilly by his sister Caroline, the wife of Murat, the Emperor, out of humour, was going the tour of the circle, and stopped opposite Madame Regnault, a beauty of eight and twenty with an exquisite figure. While examining her dress, the simplicity of which made her even more charming and graceful than usual, he remarked bitterly, in a solemn bass voice loud enough for all to hear, "Do you know, madame, that you are looking much older?" The lady had the philosophy to answer firmly, with a smile, "What your Majesty has done me the honour to observe might have been painful to hear had I reached an age when truth is regretted." "With women," says Madame Junot, "the Emperor never joked, or if he did the joke was a thunderbolt." She then adds naïvely, "The strange mania that possessed him of telling wives of the infidelities of their husbands was never agreeable, and sometimes gave rise to very painful feelings."

"My father renewed his old acquaintance with her; and through the lady he became sufficiently intimate with the extraordinary diplomatist, her husband, to be one of the Englishmen most frequently invited to his table. The *soiréees* and *petits-soupers* of Madame de Talleyrand at her charming Villa of Neuilly were at this period about the most select in France, being rivalled only by those of the Consuless Josephine, the literary Madame de Staël, and the fashionable and fascinating Madame Récamier. They invited not only the *Corps-diplomatique*, but all such as were distinguished by their station or talents.

"At one of these assemblies, myself being present, this remarkable *rencontre* took place, of persons not likely even to have met beneath the same roof, under any circumstances less fortuitous. These persons were Mr. and Mrs. Fox, Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, M. and Madame de Talleyrand, Sir Philip Francis, and Mr. Le Grand!"

Mr. Impey writes as an eye-witness. In the first place it may be observed that on his own showing he was only in Paris during the visit he alludes to, for a portion of December, 1801, and of January, 1802. Now, as we have seen already, there was no Madame Talleyrand till September, 1802, and Francis was not Sir Philip till 1806. But allowing for some little confusion of dates, it would be safer to assume some strange betrayal of memory, or mixing up of circumstances, on Mr. Impey's part, than to believe that such an unfortunate meeting of conflicting elements would not have been guarded against by one, of whom Talleyrand's secretary testifies,—"she was unrivalled in the tact and *convenance* with which she received company." Philip Francis as a septuagenarian had nothing to gain or lose by not being frank on this particular point with his second wife, who distinctly says, that he told her, that he as well as Sir. E. Impey was in Paris after the peace, and that he received a message from Madame Grand telling him of her prospects, and asking him not to attempt to see her, lest M. Talleyrand might take offence; and so much did she deprecate even an accidental meeting at that critical time, that, to avoid all chance of it, she expressed her intention of making a little excursion into the country. To carry out her wishes, Francis says that he hastened his own departure from Paris, and that he never set eyes on her again, "that the only intercourse which took place was a few elegant books which she sent him with a short note, merely to tell him that she had not forgotten him." He also said that Talleyrand, whom he did meet then and at other times, was always ungracious to him in manner, and gave no encouragement to an acquaintanceship. There is quite enough probability in all

this to shake our faith in evidence to the contrary, coming even from a truthful witness who may have got confused about his reminiscences.

But Mr. Impey's story was not new; he published his father's life in 1846, and over thirty years before that, the alleged coming together of incongruities at Neuilly had been in print, and found its way to the Cape of Good Hope, possibly to the African Club there, where it came under the observation, and aroused the indignation, of poor old Mr. Grand, and inspired this postscript to his Narrative, dated April 30th, 1814, viz.:—

"A miserable author, denominating himself the Modern Plutarch,* has had the impudence to assert 'that at a dinner given by M. de Talleyrand in 1802, then the Minister in France for Foreign Affairs, there sat down to table the former Mrs. Grand with her former husband, Sir Elijah Impey, who had presided on the Bench in the action-at-law brought by him before his tribunal, and Sir P. Francis, who had committed the injury.' I treated the remark at the juncture, when I saw the publication, with the contempt so unfounded an assertion merited, and it had accordingly escaped my memory when I was finishing the narrative of my life which I have given. . . . . I feel myself compelled to animadvert thereon, and out of justice to both parties implicated in this illiberal and false observation, to refute this calumny in all its points.

"I do, therefore, call God to witness that to my knowledge I never saw the first Mrs. Grand, *neither in India nor in Europe*, from that melancholy Sunday, viz., December 13th, 1778—the sensation of which day I have described, and which fixed our eternal separation. We remained from that moment like those who, having lived for a time in the height of happiness, have witnessed that happiness suddenly and unexpectedly interrupted by one being cut off never in this world to meet again. Persons of this stamp never can forget the ties which had existed. We knew the delicacy of each other's sentiments, and never once thought of infringing that line of conduct which such a sense of feeling naturally prescribed. Those whose minds are congenial will credit my assertion; they will be reckoned in the number of my English readers, for with most of the French such an idea would be condemned as preposterous in the extreme. I have known some of this nation very amiable men, yet assuming the liberty which an Englishman would, however inti-

* The anecdote is not in the "Modern Plutarch," which is a poor collection of brief biographies published at Berwick in 1811; but in the "Female Revolutionary Plutarch," which must be the book that Grand referred to. But even in this book it is not apparently told for the first time, but is merely quoted; the anecdote ends with the remark, "It is difficult to carry connubial toleration and revolutionary politeness farther."

mate, refrain from, that of entering into your domestic concerns, express themselves to the following effect on this subject: '*faites divorce aujourdhui, mon cher, mais remariez vous demain; c'est la plus belle femme qui existe.*" Such was the only sacrifice which the uncommon charms of her beauty had created with such men. They deemed it alone requisite for l'etiquette ou l'usage du monde to be observed in the manner which I have related. Such is the difference of sentiment existing between two nations only separated from each other by a branch of the sea; nevertheless, each thinking that honour guides their respective nations.

"I certainly went to Paris in 1802, and with the exception of the friend of my youth, Mr. Wombwell, and my lamented friend Sir Elijah Impey, saw during my sojournment in that capital none of the other persons mentioned. I lodged at the Hotel du Cercle, Rue de Richelieu, an hotel for the accommodation alone of male strangers. Madame de Talleyrand was, as I understood, inhabiting Neuilly, a residence in the environs of Paris appertaining to M. de Talleyrand. It was in the height of summer, and few people of rank frequented the city. I gratified my curiosity in seeing the public buildings, &c., and after an abode of a very few days departed for Switzerland, &c., &c."

There we may leave the dramatic *rencontre* at "the charming Villa of Neuilly." But Mr. Grand's postscript suggests some considerations on another matter. His solemn statement in this, while perhaps literally true, conveys an impression the reverse of true; it certainly does so, if, when he parades their mutual delicacy and the absence of all thought of infringing what it prescribed, he wishes it to be believed that he not only did not actually see his former wife, but had no communication, direct or indirect, with her. No one reading this disingenuous postscript would suspect, for instance, that a very prominent object in this visit to Paris (which was spent in "seeing public buildings") was the negociating with the Talleyrands for an appointment which would provide him with a livelihood, and which, above all, would get him out of Europe.

From his former allusion to the offer of a handsome pension from a certain "liberal friend" tendered through Sir E. Impey, and his acknowledging that he did see the latter during this Paris visit, it may fairly be inferred who the friend in need was, and that the go-between in the final negociations was the wily old Chief Justice. For a knowledge of the circumstances attending on Mr. Grand's deportation from Europe to the Cape, I have again to express my indebtedness to an interesting little volume of "Recollections of Talleyrand" brought together by M. Amédée Pichot.

Before quoting him, it may be well to premise that in the Acte de Mariage between Talleyrand and Madame Grand (September 10th, 1802), she is described as the divorced wife of G. F. Grand, by an Act pronounced in Paris in April, 1798 (le 18 germinal, an. vi.) —*i.e.*, just two years before Grand arrived from India. How the divorce (presumably obtained under the law of republican France) was brought about, or whether money facilitated it, I have come across no evidence which will show. However, the fact of its having been got nearly four and a-half-years before his marriage, contradicts this statement of Madame de Rémusat, with reference to the alleged necessity for hush-money,—viz.: "It appears that Mr. Grand, who lived in England, although little desirous of receiving a wife from whom he had long been separated, contrived to get himself largely paid for withholding the protest against the marriage, with which he repeatedly menaced the newly-wedded couple."

M. Pichot also has it, that the divorce was only obtained just before the marriage, and was not consented to till a large sum was paid.

We have already seen what Mr. Grand has told us himself about his going to the Cape consequent on a "proposition made to me from the Batavian Government;" he also gives a translation of the order defining the appointment, with its emoluments, to which he was nominated:

"Extract from the Consultation of an Assembly of the States governing the Batavian Republic:—

"In this Assembly it was this day proposed, and after mature deliberation resolved, to nominate Mr. G. F. Grand to the station of Privy Councillor of the Government at the Cape of Good Hope. He is accordingly appointed and established in the above situation with a salary annexed thereto of 2,000 Caroli guilders annually.

"And further it was resolved to transmit copies of his nomination to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Directors of the East India Company, and to Mr. G. F. Grand, in order to serve for their respective guidance.

"S. DASSAVAEL,
"*Secretary.*"

This is dated ten days after the marriage of the Talleyrands, *i.e.*, September 20th, 1802; and some light is thrown on the spirit which guided the Assembly's "mature deliberations" by the following autograph letter sent a month later by Madame de

Talleyrand herself to M. Van der Goes, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Batavian Republic:—

"Monsieur,—Je ne veux pas tarder davantage à vous remercier de votre obligeance, et de tout ce que vous avez bien voulu faire pour M. Grand à ma demande.

"L'empressement et la grâce que vous y avez mis, me prouvent, Monsieur, que l'on ne compte pas en vain sur votre amitié, et cela m'autorise à vous demander un nouveau service. C'est celui de faire enjoindre à M. Grand de s'embarquer sans délai, étant tout à fait inconvenant qu'il prolonge son séjour à Amsterdam, où il est déjà depuis un mois,* *fort mal à propos.*

"Je vous serai donc tres-obligé de vouloir bien lui faire parvenir le plus tôt possible (chez M. M. R. et Th. de Smeth, à Amsterdam) l'ordre pour son embarquement, vous priant, Monsieur, de recevoir d'advance tous mes remercîments à cet égard et d'agreer l'assurance de ma plus parfaite consideration.

"TALLEYRAND-PERIGORD, NÉE WORLEE."

She was evidently very proud of her new name, because only twelve days after her marriage (1st Vendemiaire, An. XI.), in writing to the same correspondent, she says: "You will see, sir, by the name which my union with M. de Talleyrand gives me the right to bear, how the tender and sincere affection of that amiable friend has made me the happiest of women."

As M. Pichot remarks, it was a stroke of high diplomacy as well as national economy on Talleyrand's part to get the Batavian Republic (which could refuse nothing to France since 1795) to provide for M. Grand. That Talleyrand himself was the suggester of an application to his Netherland's colleague is evident from a passage in a letter from Madame Grand to M. Van der Goes in the month preceding the marriage (3 fructidor, an x = August 20th, 1802) "M. de Talleyrand m'autorise à vous mander qu'il vous aura une obligation particulière de ce que vous ferez pour moi à cette occasion." And again, when the Batavian Minister announces to her the embarkation of Grand, in the fulness of her gratitude she writes: "M. de Talleyrand is as sensible as I am of your kind offices, and charges me to repeat to you all that I have already conveyed to you of his recognition, and his desire to give you proofs of his attachment and consideration (January 2nd, 1803)."

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* It so happened that this delay saved Grand's life. The ship which he ought to have embarked his distinguished person in (the *De Vrede*) was wrecked off Dungeness, and all the passengers were lost—and with them a piece of luck for the Talleyrands.

But the putting to sea of Mr. Grand was not destined to quite bring to an end the bride's apprehensions about him; it was not for nothing that she wished to hasten his departure; probably no one knew better than M. de Talleyrand how long the Peace of Amiens was going to last. The rupture came;* but the only concern which the renewal of war had for poor Madame de Talleyrand was in connection with Grand's voyage. What if it were not over? What if some dreadful British cruiser were to capture the ship transporting him, and land himself back again in Europe? Here would be a sorry trick for fate to play her, after matters had been arranged so nicely too; this would be "*fort mal à propos*" with a vengeance! To whom could she more suitably confide her new anxieties than to her tried ally, Van der Goes? That sympathizing friend was equal to the occasion, and with a gallantry that never failed, he again came to her relief, with the intelligence which calmed her fears, that Councillor Grand had arrived at the Cape.

Readers are referred by M. Pichot for the proofs of the authenticity of this curious correspondence, to a history of the Diplomatic Relations of the Batavian Republic, published at the Hague, only in 1864, by Professor Wraede, of the University of Utrecht, to whom the autograph letters were communicated by Baron Van der Goes, son of Talleyrand's friend.

As we shall have no further occasion to refer to Mr. Grand, it is only fair, before dismissing him, to notice another incomprehensible statement disparaging to him and to Madame de Talleyrand, which appears in a foot-note in Mr. Impey's Life of his father, and which has been reproduced, with acceptance seemingly, in the "Memoirs of Francis":—

"Part of the sequel of Le Grand's history I can supply: After the Peace of Paris, in 1815, he came to London; so did Madame la Princesse de Benevento. His object was to publish the particulars of the lady's life at Calcutta in revenge for his disappointment at Batavia—her's to seek redress for the publication. I saw it; it was a paltry book, printed at the Cape. They both applied to me. I advised the author to suppress his work, and the Princess not to go to law. This advice, of course, was very unpalatable to both: the lady took a legal opinion, and the gentleman took himself off. What became of him since I know not; but the libel shortly disappeared, and the matter seems to have ended as amicably as before."

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* May 18, 1803.

All I can say about this is, that if Mr. Impey read the book, which he says he saw, he would not thus have hashed up an old blunder of MacFarlane's (in "Our Indian Empire") and called the narrative a libel. Those who have gone through the numerous extracts which have been given from it, will have seen that Mr. Grand never imputed even blame to his wife, frail though she was, and that he alludes to her with gentleness and with kindness; to those who can read between the lines, it will be probable, too, that he writes under a sense of obligation for favour conferred. Where then is the libel for which redress was to be sought? He tells us himself of the philosophical way in which he took his disappointment about the official post found for him, and his words do not breathe much of the spirit of revenge—against a woman, too, who did her utmost for him, for her own sake as well as for his. The man, moreover, even whose correct name Mr. Impey does not know, never went to Batavia, but to the Cape of Good Hope, which, it is violently improbable, he ever left again, as, with the proverbial triumph of hope over experience, he dared a second marriage, and this time successfully, as we may gather from two or three contented passages in his Narrative, viz. :—

"I feel blessed in my second domestic attachment, and I thank Heaven daily that what I have been denied in consequence, say worldly honours and riches, it has pleased the Almighty to compensate me in unimpaired faculties and an uncommon share of health and activity far surpassing what might be expected in my years (February 1st, 1808)."

"Sir Elijah Impey congratulated me (in reference to his escape from shipwreck), observing that he trusted this Almighty miraculous deliverance portended at once that I am reserved for happier days* than those which I had recently experienced. I thanked him, and must gratefully repeat his prediction has been accomplished, in the enjoyment of the blessings of health, of a composed mind, and of an amiable partner, and a continued cheerful residence with her worthy family."

The last sentence in the dedicatory letter (introducing his

* Those happier days might have been bitterly marred; poor Mr. Grand just escaped having had occasion to cry, like Ahab of old: "Hast thou found me, oh mine enemy?" for about 1806 the offer of the Governorship of the Cape, with the Order of the Bath and the rank of Privy Councillor, was offered to Francis, but declined. This appears from a statement of claims submitted by him to the Prince Regent, in which he refers to it, and to his having been unfairly passed over for the Governor-Generalship of India.

Narrative) written in 1814, when he was at least sixty-six, and evidently at peace with the world and disposed to stay where he was so, is, "You know the sequel—happy in my second choice of a partner, I upbraided not the worldly opportunity lost. My happiness centred alone in domestic concerns. May you be blessed in the like manner, should it ever be your lot to deplore as I did the cruel separation which forced me from the first." I must leave to others the task of reconciling, if they can, these passages with Mr. Impey's foot-note; I cannot fancy a more difficult one.

Whatever may have been the indiscretions chargeable to Madame Grand, her conduct after her acquaintanceship with Talleyrand began seems to have been without reproach. In only one instance afterwards was the whisper of scandal heard about her. When Napoleon was attacking Spain he got into his power (1808) the Spanish princes, *i.e.*, Ferdinand, the eldest son of the King, his brother and his uncle. These he sent to the Chateau of Valencay, the country seat of Talleyrand, who was then Grand Chamberlain, and ordered him to have them there kept in silken bondage, and to do all in his power to amuse them. This was all the harder on Talleyrand, as he is understood to have disapproved of Napoleon's dealings with the Spanish princes, who had thrown themselves into his arms. In the letter in which the Emperor conveyed his orders to Talleyrand he said, "There would be no harm in sending for some comedians if you have a theatre at Valencay. Madame de Talleyrand and four or five ladies might also remain at the Chateau. There will be no inconvenience should the Prince of Asturias (Ferdinand) fall in love with a pretty woman, especially if she can be depended on. It is of the greatest importance that the Prince of Asturias should not commit any blunder. . . . . I have determined to send him to a country seat, and to surround him with pleasures and supervision." The spiteful tongues of "all Paris" said at the time that Madame de Talleyrand played her part in the arrangements for amusement, in a manner much more calculated to please the Emperor than her husband, and proved once more the fallacy of the observation that "a woman of forty is only beautiful to those who loved her in her youth." This little scandal, however, may have only had its rise, when, some few years later, Peninsular affairs going badly for the French, Napoleon desired to treat with Ferdinand for his restoration, to whose overtures the latter made a dutiful reply, adding, "I have spent five years and a half very pleasantly, and would willingly pass the re-

mainder of my life at Valencay.* The supplement to this story is, that when rumour brought to the Emperor's ears the secret of Ferdinand's being enabled to enjoy his enforced idleness without ennui, he was mean enough to introduce the matter in conversation to the Chamberlain, to which Talleyrand calmly observed, "It is true, sire, that it would have been better, both for the honour of your Majesty and for mine, that there never had been anything to do with these Spanish princes."

It is said that Madame de Talleyrand's great elevation gave her but short-lived happiness, and that like most *parvenus* she went but indifferently through the trials of prosperity. Stories are told of her affectation of royal state, in having maids of honour, pages, &c., which possibly have some truth in them, as an anecdóte relates, that when courtiers came to congratulate Talleyrand on his advancement by Napoleon in 1806 to the rank of Prince of Benevento, he stopped them with "Eh! Mon Dieu, vous vous trompez; ce n'est pas ici—c'est à Mme. de Talleyrand quil faut faire vos compliments, les femmes sont toujour bien aises d'être princesses."

A couple of those stories are thus told in an article on "Talleyrand at the Congress at Vienna" in *Temple Bar* for April, 1883.

"Talleyrand had been accompanied to Vienna by Madame de Talleyrand, whose eccentricities were hardly compatible with perfect soundness of mind. . . . . We shall content ourselves with citing two anecdotes on the faith of a most trustworthy eye-witness. The Princess had two young nieces in her suite who had not yet entered their teens. Her practice was on the evenings of her receptions, when a sufficient company had assembled, to direct a pair of folding doors to be thrown open, through which the two young ladies made their entrée into the salon with their arms encircling each other, and proceeded to execute a series of *pirouettes* round the room, ending at last with a graceful curtsey before Madame de Talleyrand.

"This was comparatively an innocent oddity on her part although it bored her guests. Her second oddity was more mischievous and caused great offence. She would frequently during the evening receptions ring the bell and order her groom of the chamber to say that she was not at home, and after the lapse of a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes she would ring the bell again and give a counter order. The consequence was that husbands who called for their wives had to go home without them, and wives who came in search of their husbands could find no admittance; and all that Talleyrand could say

* See the "Marriages of the Bonapartes," by the Hon. D. A. Bingham.

when a diplomatist of the highest rank remonstrated with him was, 'Mais, mon cher, que voulez-vous que je fasse. Ma femme est si bête.'"

Talleyrand was too much of an aristocrat himself, and had too keen an appreciation of the ludicrous not to feel humiliated at Madame's pretensions; and this added to his irritation caused by her jealousy of his relations, and their cordial detestation of her was, perhaps, a factor rendering separate establishments desirable. Possibly, too, he wished for separation on other grounds. Raikes in his Journal says that this occurred in 1815, and that long before that time he had been the favoured lover of another lady, whose daughter, a fascinating beauty (designated as the Duchess of D———), eventually presided over Talleyrand's house. Against such a formidable conjunction of adverse influences, Madame La Princesse had now but little to oppose, because at this epoch, as we learn from a contemporary, Time was making his inevitable mark, and "the elegance of her figure was injured by her becoming stout," and (alas! that it should be to tell) "this afterwards increased, and by degrees her features lost their delicacy, and her complexion became very red." Whatever may have led to the separation, or whether it occurred under the Empire or the Restoration, one of the conditions of it was that Madame was to reside in England on the allowance of sixty thousand francs a year, and not to return to France without Talleyrand's consent. Whether the sojourn in England was long or short we know not, but that she returned to France is vouched for in the well-remembered answer of Talleyrand to the king, who slyly asked with affected interest if it was true that Madame de Talleyrand was in France. "Rien n'est plus vrai, Sire, il fallait bien que j'eusse aussi mon vingt Mars."*

The establishment which Madame Talleyrand maintained after the separation from her husband was at Auteuil, and there she entertained society and regulated her household in strict imitation, it is said, of that of Talleyrand's. All the domestic details being so conducted, and all the surroundings so arranged, as to keep in active life a memory that was very dear to her. M. Colmache says that in those days he was often the bearer of kind messages to her from Talleyrand, if it ever became known to him that she was in the least out of health. In M. Pichot's collection of souvenirs there is one relating to the Princess's life at Auteuil, which may be

* On March 20, 1815, Napoleon re-entered the Tuileries on his escape from Elba, Louis XVIII. having quitted them at midnight on the 19th.

quoted, as the author vouches that he had it direct from the proprietor of the Villa Beauséjour there, which she rented. It appears that there was attached to her as companion a countess of the old régime, one of whose duties was to follow her at a respectful distance when she went out on foot: if the countess happened to come a little too near, the Princess turned and said severely, "Comtesse, vous perdez le respect." There are (to use a homely phrase) "many ups and downs in life," but we doubt that there is often seen a stranger contrast than the one which this anecdote suggests—namely, between the position of this "Princesse" censuring a gentlewoman of high birth for coming too close to her nobility, and that of the trembling young wife of some years back, whom we saw at midnight appealing in vain to a native servant in India, to release her captured lover and so to save her reputation.

In spite of the high position that Madame Grand made for herself, there is no observation more common about her, than that she was a very stupid woman; so widely has this been disseminated that its belief has been established, and, perhaps, the most prominent characteristic now recalled of this half-forgotten celebrity is her proverbial silliness. Most reigning beauties, it may be observed, are credited with dulness; the impression seems to have been always general that a pretty face and a comely figure are incompatible with any other endowment. One has not to be long in the world to learn that "Mrs. So-and-So is certainly very handsome, but insipid to a painful degree, nothing whatever in her;" indeed, there would appear to be something rather soothing than otherwise in the reflection that our neighbour's beauty is counterpoised by stupidity, and that "Fortune doth never come with both hands full."

It is not improbable that something of this too hasty generalization, coupled with a little envy, helped to propagate the belief that has so long outlived Madame Grand. It may be worth while, if only as a matter of curiosity, to see how far a few circumstances in general acceptance regarding her career justify this belief.

We have already glanced at the stories connecting her prominently with negociations on behalf of émigrés; she is also mentioned as having at one time been brought to Paris by a Mr. Bellamy—"Pour la meler à des intrigues financieres."* All this may possibly have been untrue, but it would never have been said of a woman who was a fool, whatever else she might have been. Again, it is

* "Biog. Universelle."

inconceivable that so shrewd a man as Talleyrand would have allowed her during the four or five years prior to their marriage, to conduct his receptions if, as Madame de Rémusat records, "She was so intolerably stupid that she never said the right thing;" and this at a period when Bonaparte's victories and treaties had filled Paris with ambassadors and foreigners of distinction.

Yet the same authority says rather inconsistently in another place, "I have heard it said she was one of the most charming women of her time," which seems to suggest that Madame de Rémusat had but little personal acquaintance with her. M. Colmache, speaking from his own knowledge of Madame Grand's demeanour at the Foreign Minister's receptions, says, "She dispensed politeness to each and all alike, contenting everyone." He allows that she evinced a certain *inexperience* in the social traditions of the world in which Talleyrand placed her, which amused the wits who frequented her society. Talleyrand fell a victim* to her after he had escaped the beauty of Madame Récamier and others, and the fascinations of Madame de Staël: his secretary accounts for this "by the *naiveté* which gave so strong a tinge of originality to all which Madame Grand said or did, so unlike the slavery to forms and etiquette which must ever influence professed women of the world such as those by whom he was surrounded."

One of the most hostile, and probably most untruthful, of the contemporary writers who have sketched her, remarks (in the "Female Plutarch," where there is scarcely a good word said of anyone) "That Madame de Talleyrand has no pretensions to genius everybody who has frequented her society knows; and she avows with *naiveté* itself that she is a *belle bête*. But a long habit, perhaps from her infancy,† has naturalized to her an art to impose, a

* M Colmache was constantly at Valencay with Talleyrand, and in his recollections of the Prince's table-talk, which he was in the habit of noting down, he relates that the latter thus once unbosomed himself to him, showing that under certain circumstances a woman's very foibles can be delusive and charming: "My passion for Madame de Talleyrand was soon extinguished, because she was merely possessed of beauty. The influence of personal charms is limited; curiosity forms the great ingredient of this kind of love; but add the fascination of intellect to those attractions which habit and possession diminish each day, you will find them multiplied tenfold; and if besides intellect and beauty you discover in your mistress caprice, singularity, and irregularity of temper, close your eyes and seek no further—you are in love for life."

† Probably this remark would apply better to "Une veritable Indienne" than that which Talleyrand (when in love) made on the subject in his letter to Barras previously quoted.

cunning to deceive, and an hypocrisy to delude, &c., &c. . . . . She certainly does not want that social capacity, that good sense and more light accomplishments which good breeding and good company always confer."

A much safer authority, Mr. Michaud, writes thus of Madame de Talleyrand: "Nous avons eu l'avantage de l'entendre plusieurs fois, notamment à l'epoque de 31 Mars, 1814 (capitulation of Paris), et nous pouvons affirmer que sa conversation sur ce grand evénement n'etait point celle d'une sotte." Philip Francis said of her, that "her understanding was much better than the world allowed." We, who know the circumstances of her premature embarkation on life, can understand how her education, in the ordinary sense, must have been neglected, and this disadvantage must have weighted her heavily ever after; but she was educated in the school of events, and that she profited by such schooling is evident by her rising, in spite of the terrible drawbacks connected with her early years. If not learned herself, she at least affected the society of the learned, even long after living apart from Talleyrand, as may be gathered from many sources. Readers of Moore's Diary will remember his recording that he went in Paris (in 1822) to the Princesse Talleyrand's to hear Viennet, a distinguished author, read his tragedy of "Achille," and may recall the amusing incident, "heard two acts declaimed by him with true French gesticulation; the ludicrous effect of his missing one of the *feuillets* in the middle of a fine speech, and exclaiming in the same tragic tone. 'Grand Dieu! qu'est ce que c'est que çá' !!"

Moore also tells how, in the previous year, he had sat next her at a dinner party, and that "she talked much of 'Lalla Rookh,' which she had read in French prose," and "praised Bessy's beauty to me." Surely evén Madame de Rémusat would acknowledge, that, under the circumstances, these were "the right things" to say?

There are probably very few who have not heard or read the funny mistake about Robinson Crusoe attributed to Madame Talleyrand; the anecdote has been the round of every newspaper in Europe and America, and will perhaps ever be quoted when her name is mentioned. It is more than likely that this anecdote is mainly responsible for the popular impression about her want of sense. If this piece of "evidence" be broken down, there is really little else to support the allegation of stupidity. Though the story has been worn threadbare, it must be given here again, to show one of the high authorities who have vouched for its truth, and to let

the reader see how the narration is tinged with a spite which weakens it as evidence. Napoleon thus told it to O'Meara at St. Helena in 1817:

"I sometimes asked Denon (whose work I suppose you have read) to breakfast with me, as I took a pleasure in his conversation, and spoke very freely with him. Now all the intriguers and speculators paid their court to Denon with a view of inducing him to mention their projects or themselves in the course of his conversation with me, thinking that being mentioned by such a man as Denon, for whom I had a great esteem, might materially serve them. Talleyrand, who was a great speculator, invited Denon to dinner. When he went home to his wife, he said—'My dear, I have invited Denon to dine; he is a great traveller, and you must say something handsome to him about his travels, as he may be useful to us with the Emperor.'

"His wife, being extremely ignorant and probably never having read any other book of travels than that of Robinson Crusoe, concluded that Denon could be nobody else. Wishing to be very civil to him, she, before a large company, asked him divers questions about his man Friday. Denon, astonished, did not know what to think at first, but at length discovered by her questions that she really imagined him to be Robinson Crusoe. His astonishment and that of the company cannot be described, nor the peals of laughter which it excited in Paris as the story flew like wild-fire through the City, and *even* Talleyrand himself was ashamed of it."

The Emperor was evidently but an indifferent "*raconteur*," or his story loses by translation from the Italian in which he conversed with O'Meara. An apology is due to the reader for reproducing so poor a version of this well-known anecdote; as an *amende* I give here the original and best one for the benefit of those who may not have seen it. It appears in "L'Album Perdu," and is attributed to M. Henri Delatouche:

Peu de temps après le retour de l'armée d'Egypte et des savants qui avaient été témoins de cette glorieuse expédition, M. de Talleyrand invita à dîner M. Denon. "C'est, dit M. de Talleyrand à sa femme, un homme très-aimable, un auteur, et les auteurs aiment beaucoup qu'on leur parle de leurs ouvrages; je vous enverrai la relation de son voyage, et vous la lirez afin de pouvoir lui en parler." En effet M. de Talleyrand fit porter dans la chambre de Mme. de Talleyrand le volume promis, et celle-ci l'ayant lu se trouva en mesure de féliciter l'auteur placé à table à côté d'elle. "Ah! monsieur, lui dit-elle, je ne saurais vous exprimer tout le plaisir que j'ai éprouvé à la lecture de vos aventures.—Madame, vous êtes beaucoup trop indulgente.—Non,

je vous assure; mon Dieu, que vous avez dû vous ennuyer, tout seul, dans une île déserte! Cela m'a bien intéressée.—Mais il me semble, madame, que...—Vous deviez avoir une drôle de figure avec votre grand bonnet pointu?—En vérité, madame, je ne comprends pas...—Ah! moi je comprends bien toutes vos tribulations. Avez-vouz assez souffert après votre naufrage!—Mais, madame, je ne sais...—Vous avez dû être bien content le jour où vous avez trouvé Vendredi!" M. de Talleyrand avait donné à lire à sa femme, peu *liseuse* comme disait la maréchale, Lefebvre, les *Aventures de Robinson Crusoé.*"

The tenacity with which the public cling to a time-honored story, and the reluctance with which they see any attempt at the deposition of an old favourite, was curiously illustrated about eighteen years ago, when the *Times* opened its columns to a spirited correspondence as to the authenticity of this anecdote. The occasion was a Review in the *Times* of Sir H. Bulwer's "Historical Characters," where the author introduces this anecdote, naming not Denon, but a Sir George Robinson, as the hero of it (others assign this position to Humboldt). M. Pichot, a staunch sceptic as to the conclusiveness of the evidence which attributes stupidity to Madame de Talleyrand, led the way in an admirable letter, humorous and logical, showing that the old story has not even the merit of originality. He was immediately attacked by one who challenged his dates and authority, and threw out doubts as to the year when a translation of Robinson Crusoe appeared in France: and who also quoted Moore's version as he had given it in his Paris diary of 1821, as though he seemed to imply that this should be regarded as evidence. Mr. Dominic Colnaghi (the eminent engraver, &c., &c., of Pall Mall, who died in 1879) also took part in the correspondence; his argument as to the anecdote's being authentic amounted to this, that his father had heard it in Paris in 1806 from a Miss Dickinson, then said to be the *demoiselle de compagnie* of Madame de Talleyrand. A story, too good to be doubted, is often repeated at the time and place of its origin, till it comes to be believed in, even by contemporaries, but this does not prove that it may not be *ben trovato* nevertheless. The source which M. Pichot suggests for the anecdote in the following passage in his letter leaves little doubt in my mind that he was right in suspecting that Madame de Talleyrand's mistake was the "invention of some English wit, or a French *bel-esprit*:"

"Extraordinary again is it not that hitherto English readers have overlooked this passage of a letter of Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, dated October 22, 1741.—'The whole town is to be to-

morrow night at Sir Thos. Robinson's Ball, which he gives to a little girl of the Duke of Richmond, &c.'

"In a note (Pichot refers to the American Edition of 1812, Lord Dover being the Commentator) to this letter we are told that Sir Thos. Robinson of Rokeby Park, commonly called long Sir Thomas, is elsewhere styled the new Robinson Crusoe by Walpole, who says, when speaking of him, 'He was a tall uncouth man, and his stature was often rendered still more remarkable by his hunting-dress, a postilion's cap, a tight green jacket, and buckskin breeches. He was liable to sudden whims, and once set off in his hunting suit to visit his sister, who was married and settled at Paris. He arrived while there was a large company at dinner, the servant announced Mr. Robinson, and he came in to the great amazement of the guests. Among others, a French Abbé thrice lifted his fork to his mouth and thrice laid it down with an eager stare of surprise. Unable to restrain his curiosity any longer, he burst out with, 'Excuse me, Sir, are you the famous Robinson Crusoe so remarkable in history'?"

At all events a mistake made by a French Abbé may fairly be excused in a lady. M. Colmache says that many of the blunders laid to the charge of Talleyrand's wife bear the unmistakable stamp of the firm of Montrond & Co. As I have referred to this gentleman as an authority on the subject, I may mention that his questioning Talleyrand as to the truth of the popular anecdote led to his being told one much more likely and nearly as amusing. The Robinson Crusoe incident did not actually happen, said Talleyrand, "but it was guessed at and that was enough; the blunder was ascribed to her without compunction;" and then he added:

"I certainly remember a *naïveté* which she once uttered in the midst of a circle of savans and literati at Neuilly, which would be considered quite as good and become just as popular were it as generally known. Lemercier had volunteered after dinner to read us one of his unplayed and unplayable pieces. The company had gathered round him in a circle; his *cahier* lay already unfolded on his knees, and, clearing his voice, he began in a high, shrill tone, which made us all start from our incipient slumber, '*La Scène est à Lyon.*' 'There now, M. de Talleyrand,' exclaimed the princess, jumping from her chair, and advancing towards me with a gesture of triumph, 'Now I knew that you were wrong; you would have it that it was the *Saône*!' To describe the embarrassment and consternation of the company would be impossible. I myself was perplexed for an instant, but soon remembered the difference of opinion to which she had alluded. As our carriage was crossing the bridge at Lyons, a little time before, she had asked me the name of the river which flowed beneath. I had told her it was 'Saône;' to which she had replied, with a truly philosophical reflection,

'Ah, how strange this difference of pronunciation; we call it the *Seine* in Paris!' I had been much amused at the time, but had not thought it worth while to correct the self-confident error, and thus had arisen this extraordinary confusion in the troubled brain of the poor princess. Of course we all laughed heartily at her unexpected sally; but we were grateful nevertheless, for it saved us the reading of the dreaded drama, as no one that evening could be expected to *retrouver son sérieux* sufficiently to listen with becoming attention to all the terrible events which Lemercier had to unfold."

"The keenest shafts of ridicule," continues M. Colmache, "must have fallen pointless against one who joined with such hearty good will in the mirth which was thus raised, without at all agreeing with those who deemed that it was excited at his own expense." Silence respecting his private troubles, an appearance of complete indifference,—politeness, patience, and dexterity in taking his revenge, were the weapons, according to Madame de Rémusat, with which Talleyrand met the general condemnation of his marriage.

Madame de Talleyrand lived to 1835, dying on December 10th in that year. Curious to relate even the very close of her extraordinary career was marked by a dramatic incident, which is thus noted by the English papers, though the Paris papers, the *Constitutionel* and the *Journal des Debats*, merely notice her death, the latter paper adding, "La Princesse était d'origine Danoise." The *Morning Herald* of December 17th, 1835, says:

"A very curious scene is said to have taken place in the Chamber of the Princess de Talleyrand after she had expired. She had given in her dying moments a casket containing papers to the Archbishop of Paris who attended her, with the injunction to hand them to the Comtesse d'Estignac: that lady having come, the Archbishop proceeded to fulfil the directions of the defunct, when a personage representing the interests of the prince interfered, and said the papers should not be given up. Madame D'Estignac had also a friend who interfered on her behalf of her right to the casket, and violence threatened to terminate the dispute, when a *juge de paix* hastily summoned came in and declared that he would keep the object of dispute in his possession until the right to it was legally decided."

The *Times*, referring to the same occurrence, adds:—

"Report says that the casket contained the Princess' jewels and diamonds, value about £40,000. The Comtesse D'Estignac is the daughter of Prince de Talleyrand's second brother, but rumour says that the Duchess de Dino wishes to have them for herself by having them awarded to the Prince de Talleyrand."

Thos. Raikes, who was in Paris at the time, gives in his Journal a somewhat fuller account of this strange incident, and says that it made a great noise, as the dying woman had, when the last religious ceremonies were over, asked faintly for the casket and delivered it with much earnestness to the Bishop as her valid gift and last testimonial of her affection for Madame D'Estignac. Raikes tells that the affair was finally compromised for the sum of 200,000 francs on Talleyrand proving to a mutual friend, by the deeds of his marriage-settlement, that legal right was on his side. The contents were said not to have been divulged. Whether Raikes is an authority to be much depended on is somewhat doubtful. He describes the deceased as having been a Creole, born at Martinique. From his Journal we learn that the declaration of her death was thus inscribed in the Register of the Church of St. Thomas D'Aquin : "On December 12th, 1835, there was presented at this Church the body of Catherine, widow of George François Grand, *connue civilement comme Princesse de Talleyrand*," aged 74 years, deceased the night before last, fortified with the sacraments of the Church, at No. 80, Rue de Lisle (query, Lille ?) Her obsequies were performed in the presence of Mathew Pierre de Goussot and of Charles Demon (agent of the Prince). friends of the deceased, who have signed with us."

Raikes comments on this sententiously : "It is rather curious that, after all the satanic allusions to Monsieur de T——— in the public journals, his principal agents hould be named Demon."* The curious phraseology in the declaration of his wife's death shows, as Raikes points out in another entry, that Talleyrand in his latter days seemed little inclined to perpetuate the recollection of his marriage. With this view he gave directions, the same contemporary journalist alleges, that the inscription on her tombstone should indicate the fact as slightly as possible, and that she should be there described as the widow of Mr. Grand, afterwards civily married to M. de Talleyrand. "Here," says Raikes, "his dominant foible comes out; he hopes that by treating the ceremony as a civil contract at that period of the Revolution, he may now palliate that stigma in the eyes of the clergy which is irremissibly attached to the position of a prêtre marié."

In the "Biographie Universelle" we are told that Madame de Talleyrand is buried in the Cemetery of Mont Parnasse, "where one

* The agent's name was, I believe, 'Demion.

can still see her tomb with a modest inscription surrounded by a simple iron railing."

. . . . . .

Having read some few years ago the above quoted passages from Raike's Journal and Michaud's biographical article on Talleyrand, I felt curious as to the tombstone inscription which the great diplomatist had finally devised or permitted in memory of his wife. To settle the point in the only way likely to be conclusive, I proposed to see the grave for myself—a visit to which I hoped to make an opportunity for, while passing through Paris on my return to India.

At the last moment, however, another route had to be taken; in these circumstances it occurred to me to trespass on the good nature of a friend, an English lady then resident in Paris, and to beg her, if convenient, to go to the grave and to copy for me the epitaph.

My correspondent, with a kindness for which I cannot sufficiently thank her, most readily acceded to my request, and made a pilgrimage to the tomb at Mont Parnasse; as her interesting letter supplies the information which it was thought desirable to have, the liberty of quoting an extract from it is taken:

. . . . . "Regarding the last resting-place of Mme. de Talleyrand, I went over to Mont Parnasse, and with the aid of an official succeeded in finding the tomb. As you will see by the enclosed extract from the Register kept at the Cemetery,* no mistake was possible in identifying the grave, but it corresponds with the description in one particular only,—*i.e.*, it is enclosed by a simple iron railing, but as to the 'modest inscription,' if it ever existed, of which there is not the faintest trace, its extreme modesty caused it long since to retire from the public gaze. The tomb was in as miserable a state of neglect as could possibly be imagined, thickly overgrown with rank grass, weeds, and nettles; in keeping with the utterly desolate forsaken look of those few feet of earth (all the more remarkable among so many carefully tended resting-places), a wreath of *immortelles* hung over a corner of the railing, put there, I suppose, by some good Catholic's hand in pity for that melancholy nameless grave. One of the gardeners, a civil young Frenchman, at my request, brought a spade and thoroughly cleared away the accumulated earth and rubbish, with which the stone slab, which is quite level with the

* The inclosure was a printed tabular form filled in at the time of the visit; it indicated the grave sought for by a division, line, and number; the corresponding entry in the Register described the grave as that of "Talleyrand (Princesse de) née Worlée (Cathérine Noël)."

ground, was covered to the depth of some five or six inches. Among the *debris* we found, very opportunely, an old scrubbing brush (whatever brought it there?), which served to clean the stone, and effectually convince us that any inscription it may originally have borne must have been a readily effaceable one; certainly not deeply graven, as not the slightest indication of previous word or letter now remains."*

Now we are able to see how thoroughly Talleyrand gave effect, so far as his poor wife's grave is concerned, to what Raikes describes as his disinclination "to perpetuate the recollection of his marriage," and it must be allowed that the Municipal authorities of Paris (if it be they who had charge of the cemeteries) very gallantly, in a passive way, favoured this generous object.

Will the looked-for publication of Talleyrand's Memoirs (still advisedly deferred beyond the period originally stipulated)† throw any additional light, indirectly or otherwise, on Madame Grand's career, or at least on that portion of it intimately connected with his own domestic life? It is not unlikely that the subject will be avoided, if possible. But as speculation on this point would be profitless, I must here conclude this attempt at collecting and winnowing the scattered records of one whose captivations were celebrated from the Ganges to the Seine; whose beauty—not when at its zenith, but when approaching its decline—was pre-eminent in a brilliant society remarkable for attractive women; and whose name was closely connected with those of actors conspicuous on the world's stage, and was familiar to some of the great historic personages of a memorable epoch.

As such, Calcutta may fairly claim her as not the least prominent of its passed-away notorieties.‡

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* I saw this grave myself in June, 1886, and found it just as my correspondent described it, even to the wreath, which is of thin metal. The railings are very low (about twenty-four inches). The top of the grave is quite covered with nettles. It is between a tomb of the family "Parisy," and that of one which bears the names "Halbout" and "De Cusse" on it. But should any visitor to Paris care to see it, the locality will be at once indicated by the officials in charge of the accurately kept registry.

† These curious memoirs ought to come to light in May, 1888, according to the following announcement:—"Aux termes du testament qui nous en a confié le depôt, les memoires du prince de Talleyrand ne peuvent être publies que dans vingt ans. Le manuscrit est scellé en sûreté; il n'en existe pas de copie" Chatelain, notaire honoraire. Paul Andral. Paris, le 24 Mai, 1868."

‡ See Appendix H.

CHAPTER IX.

LETTERS FROM WARREN HASTINGS TO HIS WIFE.

EXTRACTS from some letters of Warren Hastings to his wife, to which have been added a few letters written by Mrs. Hastings (hitherto unpublished).

PREFATORY NOTE.

The fact of a large number of unpublished letters from Warren Hastings to his wife being in existence and available to the public, was first made known to readers in India by Mr. Beveridge in 1877 in his interesting articles on Warren Hastings in the *Calcutta Review*. These letters, with a vast amount of other papers relating to Hastings which have yet to be explored and utilized by the historian, were acquired by purchase by the British Museum only in 1872. It is with the letters to Mrs. Hastings only that it is proposed to deal at present; these are considered so worthy of special care that they are not shown to the applicant for them in the large general reading-room, but in a smaller one in connection with that containing selected manuscripts.

They are bound in a thin quarto volume, and an attempt has been made to arrange them in chronological order, which has not been very successful, owing to many of the earlier letters being dated with the day of the week only.

In the extracts given from them I have endeavoured to rectify this defect.

The letters may be divided into three series: the first comprises those written from Calcutta in 1780, and are endorsed "Letters from my excellent Husband when I was at Hughly and Chinsurar" (*sic*); during this absence of Mrs. Hastings the duel with Francis occurred. The second series of letters are not in original, but are thus endorsed in very faint ink—"This paper contains a faithful copy of the letters conveyed in quills to Mrs. Hastings while Mr. Hastings was at Chunar: the originals are in Mrs. Hastings's possession together with the quills in which they are enveloped." The third relate to Mrs. Hastings's voyage to England, and her husband's own doings afterwards until he prepared to follow her.

It may be useful to explain how these letters in all probability got

separated from those, not superior in interest, which were long ago printed and published. We may learn this from what Mr. Gleig says in his preface to the memoirs of the life of Hastings. Warren Hastings died in 1818 : soon after that, the whole of the family papers were put into the hands of Mr. Southey, with the proposal that he should become the biographer of the late Governor-General of Bengal. Having kept the papers a good while, Mr. Southey returned them with th avowal that he could not undertake so complicated a task. After a long interval a similar proposal was made to Mr. Impey, and to him the papers were sent. He kept them and laboured at them for six years, but when he died not a word of the memoir had been written. Again the voluminous and deterrent documents found their way back to Daylesford, where they lay in absolute confusion until 1835, when Mr. Gleig got them and was occupied with them for six years. With all these moves and changes it would be strange if some of the family papers did not get lost or separated. The disadvantage at which the compiler of the memoir was thus placed, finds expression in this passage in his introduction :—"The letters entrusted to me are not always consecutive, and it has unfortunately happened that precisely at points where most of all it was essential that I should find materials for my biography in the handwriting of the subject of it, such materials are wanting."

Accordingly, in the letters from Hastings to his wife which Gleig gives as being "full of interest," there are many allusions which are scarcely intelligible from want of letters that must have preceded them, and whose absence must have greatly perplexed the biographer.

The letters of Hastings to his wife, remarks Macaulay, who had seen only the few given by Gleig, "are exceedingly characteristic. They are tender and full of indication of esteem and confidence, but at the same time a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation." A more extended acquaintance with Hastings' domestic letters will, perhaps, show that this qualification was not altogether justified. He evidently was an inexhaustible correspondent. The letters to his wife were written in the most ungrudging frequency, and although he was thus under no obligation to recompense rarity by length, the length to which most of his letters to her did go was something miraculous, in the case of such an Atlas who had such a world on his shoulders. The burden of nearly everyone of them is the same —the assurance of his unceasing love—of the aching void her absence has created—his morbid apprehensions and repinings, and his passionate yearning to regain her. All indicate what a lonely man Warren Hastings really was. No one can doubt the earnestness or the depth of sincerity and truth from which these fond outpourings flowed.

"He seems to have loved her with that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused" (Macaulay).

In the excerpta that follow, I have, as a general rule, given the shorter notes of the first series in full; from the rest I have only

attempted to extract such portions as may have a local interest and significance for Indian readers especially, and which may tend to elucidate personal character and feeling, and help to afford a nearer view of the inner life of one who belongs to history. "The business of the biographer," says the prince of biographers—quoting the *Rambler*—"is often to pass slightly over those performances and incidents which produce vulgar greatness; to lead the thoughts into domestic privacies, and display the minute details of daily life."

Opposite Nia Serai, 11 *o'clock.*

My Beloved Marian,—I have found out a work for the employment of my thoughts without detaching them from my Marian. I am not used to write to Queens, and never feel my own defects so much as when I presume to express the sentiments and language of one so much superior in the native excellency of both as my Queen is. Something too will be wanting in the formalities of address. The first I submit to your correction, and for the last you will consult Mr. McPherson. When you have brought it to its proper form, write it at your leisure and send it under a good package to me that it may go by the *Lively*. I have just thought that if I should not have time to get your cover embroidered, it may as well be done by Major Scott before he presents it. But I believe I can contrive it. We are stopped here by the wind, the tide, and winding of the river. I am afraid you have made but little way, as the wind is still in an opposite direction to your course; and it is but little comfort to me that you move but slowly from me. Remember me affectionately to Mrs. Motte. May every blessing attend you, my dearest Marian.

My heart is very heavy, no wonder. The bearer may bring a line from you; only let it say *I am well*, if you are well.

Yours ever, ever,

W. H.

"*Monday evening.*†

"I intend to make a second trial of the Manego (*sic*) for the cure of my joints, which continue shamefully stiff and cramped.

"I find that Naylor's distemper is that for which Japan rice is a specific. I shall be obliged to you, therefore, if you will either send me a little, or tell me where I can get it. I have seen nobody and heard nothing. But I have a letter from Madras, which mentions the arrival of the Company's ships *York*, *London*, *Portland* and *Bridgwater*. The only news of consequence is, that it is determined that I am to remain as long as I choose, but with the same associate.‡ My compliments to Mrs. Ross and Bibby Motte."

(In due sequence, the three letters referring to the duel, given elsewhere, would come in here.)

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* The date of this letter was either 13th or 14th August, 1780, when Hastings was returning by boat to Calcutta, having left his wife in the hospitable charge of Mr. (and Mrs.) Ross, the Dutch Governor of Chinsurah (see the duel). Nia Serai was near Hooghly at the Calcutta side of it; there was a wide deep nulla there running from the inland.

† *i.e.*, August 14th.

‡ *i.e*, Francis (*see Duel*).

"*Calcutta, August 19th, Saturday evening.*

My Dear Marian,—I have nothing new to write to you but what you will find in the enclosed letter. I now wish your return. Indeed I have all along wished it, though for reasons which I have mentioned, and for others which I have not, I opposed my own inclinations. Sir John Day is arrived. I desire you to make my compliment to Mr. Ross, and express to him my concern to hear that he is ill. Adieu my beloved. I now grow impatient to see you.

"Your most affectionate,

"W.H.

P.S.—Gull is come. I have quartered him with your Taylors (*sic*).

"*Wednesday evening.*

(He complains of having been out of spirits and health, but tells her he is now better.)

"My sickness is no more than a cold, but it is teazing, and is much to me who am not accustomed to severe complaints, and hate to have any. Yours alone, my Marian, are too much for me to bear.

"Scott certainly goes and with special dispatches from me, which will oblige me to make the most of my time to prepare them. For this purpose I think of locking myself up for two or three days next week at Allipoor."

"*Calcutta, Thursday evening.*

"My Dearest Marian,—I wrote an answer to your letter this morning and said in it too rashly that I would make you another visit on Saturday; but waiting to answer Mr. Motte's I have had time to recollect that I cannot go. I have, therefore, destroyed my letter. I have no boat; I hate to borrow. I have a thousand things to do, and I am sadly out of spirits, having been all day tormented with a headache. I am glad that you resolve to accept no more invitations. Mrs. Ross is too good not to approve your reasons, and if you visit nobody, nobody will be displeased. . . . . I will bespeak your two coffrees."

"*Thursday night.*

"My Marian,—You are really angry, almost cross, but I forgive you because you give me news of the amendment of your health, too good to allow me to be angry too, and because I am too much pleased with the thoughts of seeing you to-morrow to allow me to be angry with anyone.

(Here come in directions for posting horses, etc.)

"My plan is this: I go from Council into my chariot at two. I shall be at Barinagur before three. There my pinnace waits for me. Sir John accompanies me. What time I shall reach the carriage I cannot tell; perhaps at six, perhaps at twelve. But be it at what hour it will I must go on, and I beg of you to contrive that I may not disturb the family when I enter Mr. Motte's house. How that is to be managed God and you best know. I am sure I shall break your rest more by not coming at all than by coming late. My Marian, I saw an alligator yesterday with a mouth as large as a budgerow, and was told that it was of a sort which is very common, but not so large. I shall never consent to your going again to Beercool. Adieu my beloved; a sound and sweet sleep be your portion for this night. I will be your nurse to-morrow night.

"W. H.

"*Calcutta, Friday night.*

"My Dearest Marian,—I have received your angry letter, but thank you for it notwithstanding; a pity indeed! I wrote to you last night, and I sent away your Beauty* to you this morning. Poor fellow! it will be a kindness to him as well as to yourself, and to me too, if you will be content to walk him till you are both a little stronger. To-morrow I will send you your gun. I am just returned from a visit to Mrs. Scott. Scott is arrived also, and your daughter, a beautiful child. Mr. Irwin breakfasted with me, and appeared in such spirits that I ventured to make enquiry about his wife, which I told him was on your account, and I believe you will rejoice to hear that she has been three days visibly mending, and, by his account, out of danger. I have migrated to my own house; but the Lyon roars so noisily, that, suspecting that he might disturb my rest, I am returned to our bed for the night. *Noisily* is not the proper term. The sound is like the scraping of fifty great kettles. I am well. As I am persuaded that your health depends on yourself, I do beseech you to be well too. Adieu.

"Yours ever,
"W. H."

"*Calcutta, December 17th, Sunday.*

"My Marian,—I have received your second letter. Have you had mine? I now send you the gun which I promised. I think you will be pleased with it, because it is fine. As to its intrinsic qualities I know nothing of them. If you use it, let me beg of you to let somebody charge it who understands it, and *not to go into the sun.* I repeat these as my earnest requests.

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* Her horse.

. . . . . "I saw Mr. Wheler and Miss D. married* last night. How it agreed with them I know not, but it has given me a cold and sore throat. God bless you. Would it not be kind, civil at least, if you were to write a short letter to her, expressing your satisfaction, &c., and regret that you were not present? I did this for you, and she said it was a pity.

"I have sent you the first volume of Coleman's 'Terence,' and recommend it to you for an equally entertaining and improving study.

"Will you give me as much of your white fur as will decorate a dressed suit for New Year's Day, and will you tell me where I shall get it? I desire you to acquaint Mrs. Motte that I intend to make a figure—and no inconsiderable one—in the waistcoat which she did me the honour to give me."

"*Calcutta, December 22nd, Friday evening.*

"My Beloved Marian,—I never received a letter that gave me so much pleasure. I have not a word to say in answer but that I am happy, even in the expectation of seeing you in four days hence, and that if you disappoint me, I will not add the consequence.

"I ought to bid you stay till after the first of January; but if I do, I will be shot. I have something to write, but I have forgot it. Adieu my beloved. Compliments to Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. Sand, Mrs. Samson, and dear Mrs. Motte. How I envy her. Adieu.

"Yours ever ever, more than can be written,

"W. H.

"*P.S.*—Tell when you set off, and perhaps I may meet you if I have a chance of it."

"*Saturday evening.*

"I rode this morning to Gheretty, where I arrived a little after eight; and am just returned. Lady Coote made many enquiries after you, and said she hoped you would stop at Gheretty. The morning was pleasant, and though I rode near two miles beyond Pulta, and accomplished the journey in two hours, I walked as many at Gheretty and felt no more fatigue than if it had been but an airing. Are not you glad of this?"

"*Wednesday evening* (ends thus).

"May God bless you and restore you safe and in health to me, and as glad—or but half as glad—to see your husband as he will be to regain

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* Mr. Wheler, then Senior Member of Council, married, as his second wife, Miss Charlotte Durnford, daughter of an official in the Supreme Court, whom he left a widow in October, 1784.

the possession of his Marian. . . . . My horse is come, but I have not half the impatience to see him as I feel for your arrival. There's a lover! I wish Motte had as much of the warmth of one, but he is in the right a little.

"I have written much nonsense, but it shall go to puzzle you. I believe people are most apt to be foolish when they are pleased."

"*Thursday night.*

". . . . I own I am not pleased with your venturing on the water at this season in a small boat, and I make it my request that you will not repeat it. I have made enquiries for a pinnace but hitherto without success. I will certainly get one for you, and a good one I hope, in a few days. You may then *trive** about the river as much as you please and neither of us be a loser by it. I had something else to say to you but forget it. I send you a paper of news. I have slept monstrously since I left you, which is a shame.

"*P.S.*—Evans has been puzzling me with a puzzling message from Motte, whom you have puzzled by telling him that you should come away on Monday next, I having before told him that you would send for your pots, pans, spits and gridirons, and take possession of his house. He had fixed on Thursday for his departure, and now does not know whether to go or stay till you go. I have referred him to you, saying (which is not always true) that nobody knows a lady's mind so well as herself, but that I supposed if you did come to Calcutta on Monday you would again return to Hughly some days after."

"*Friday evening.*

". . . . I received your note this morning and thank God that you are well; I do not care for your being sullen. I had rather you should be so—a little—on such occasions. I rode this morning in the manége and have felt the fatigue of it all day, so that I intend to repeat it to-morrow for my cure. I have no news but that I love you dearly, and that is none—as good a one as yours. Adieu, I will see you, or fancy that I do, in two hours, for it is almost ten.

"Yours ever and ever,

"W. H."

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* *Trive* (*i e.*, drive) underlined in the original, intended probably as a playful allusion to Mrs. Hasting's foreign pronunciation of English.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The second series of letters were written under the following circumstances, which some readers may have forgotten.

Cheyte Sing, the Rajah, or reigning Prince of Benares, having for some time failed to comply with the increasing demands for extraordinary tribute, made on him by the Company's Government to help in defraying their war expenses, his offences were thought to be such as to need early punishment. As his reputed wealth was great, and the Company's exigencies pressing, it was thought a measure of policy and justice to exact from him a large pecuniary mulct of some forty or fifty lakhs. Hastings having determined to take this matter in hand personally, proceeded to Benares. He was accompanied by a suite of about thirty, and by Mrs. Hastings, whom he left either at Monghyr or Patna. At the latter city she was joined by the Impeys, with whom she moved to Baughulpore.

When Hastings got to Benares (August 14th, 1781) he caused the Rajah to be put in arrest in his own house, which was on the river, two miles from the suburb in which the Governor-General took up his temporary residence. Large bodies of armed men crossed the river from Ramnugger on the day of the Rajah's arrest, and proceeded to his house. The guard placed over the prisoner consisted of two companies of Sepoys, stationed in an enclosed square which surrounded the apartment where the Rajah was. These Sepoys, strange to say, had no ammunition. Major Popham sent another company with ammunition to support them; but when this reinforcement arrived they found the Rajah's house surrounded, and all the avenues blocked by a multitude of armed men who fired on the helpless Sepoys and their officers within the square. Eighty-two were thus massacred and ninety-two wounded.

In the midst of the confusion the Rajah escaped across the river, and fled with his zenana and effects to Lutteefpoor, a strong fort some thirty miles off.

Hastings sent orders for the nearest military detachment to come to Benares. Meantime a rash attempt, against orders, to carry Ramnugger by sudden assault (August 20th) failed most disastrously with heavy loss, which would have been greater but for the skilful withdrawal to Chunar of the remnant of the Company's troops by Captain Blair.

Soon intelligence came that an assault on the Governor-General's position at Benares was in immediate contemplation, and Hastings,

with the acquiescence of Major Popham, determined to leave quietly for the fortress of Chunar, about twenty miles away. This move he and his party and his very small force accomplished successfully on the night of the 21st August.

After the disturbances which ensued in the surrounding districts had been put down, Hastings returned to Benares (September 28th).

In Macaulay's essay this precautionary move of Hastings to Chunar is not mentioned, though he does allude to the stratagem by which the Governor-General got his letters summoning assistance conveyed, *i.e.*, in quills concealed on the native messengers. He leaves it to be inferred also that only one was sent in this manner to Mrs. Hastings, but as we now see there were several.*

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* See Appendix I. Move to Chunar.

"*Chunar, August 26th.*

"I am at Chunar, and in perfect health. I entreat you to return to Calcutta. Be confident, my beloved, all is now well, and will be better. I have no fears but for you.

"W. H."

"*August 27th.*

"I am here in perfect health and safety; my only present fear is for you. I desire to have no fears. I beg you will return to Baughulpore, and as you shall be advised, to Calcutta. Sulivan* eats, drinks, and is merry. My whole party is well. Be confident, no harm will befall me. My danger was great, but it is all past. May God bless and support you, my most beloved. I feel, and have felt much for you, and am yet unhappy till I know where you are.

"Your ever most faithful and affectionate,

"W. H."

"*September 8th.*

"MY MOST BELOVED MARIAN,—I thank God that my first letter from here reached you, and that I this morning received yours of the 28th in answer to it. It is your first letter, and I shall continue to read it till I get another. It has relieved my fears, but not removed them.

"I hope you have left Patna; but do not stop at Baughulpore, go on to Moorshedabad. It is necessary to my peace of mind, and you may easily return when these troubles and the consequent alarms are past. [He then gives her some details as to the constitution and number and movements of the forces near him and coming to him]. . . I am in perfect health. Sulivan is and has been at all times well and in laughing spirits. Be confident, my Marian, I will return to you triumphant.

"P.S.—I use this blank to tell you that I never loved you as I loved you in the midst of my greatest troubles, and have suffered more in my fears for you than I hope I ever shall for myself.

"Yours ever, ever,

"W. H.

"*P.S.*—All my party is well. I am greatly indebted to Colonel Blair for his attention, and to Mrs. White for the clothes now on my back. This is the climate of Paradise. I will remember C. Sulivan."

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* Stephen Sulivan, one of his suite acting in the capacity of his private secretary.

"*September* 11*th.*

"I was going to write to you when I received yours of the 3rd. You have made me happy, notwithstanding a mixture of pain and apprehension. Do not, my beloved, yield to your fears, or distrust the good influence that guards and supports your husband, that influence which prompted me without apparent reason to leave you, my heart's treasure, in a land of safety. How happy for us both! Tell Sir Elijah that I wrote to him early from Benares two letters, one of great consequence, and I desired Major Eaton lately to write to him. May God bless him for his kindness to you. Tell him I thank him. Read the enclosed and send it to Mr. Wheler. Copy it, show it to our friends. I think you may remain at Baughulpore, but do not if you hear the least alarm. You judged wisely. Exert the fortitude which you possess, and do not suffer any thoughts of me to distress your tranquility or affect your health. I never was better than I am, and have been in all my troubles, and am happy to find by this severe trial that I have a mind which can accommodate itself to every situation, to all but one. I can bear every affliction of which you are not the subject. Sulivan is well and hearty. I deputed him yesterday as my ambassador to the Nabob, who made many enquiries after you. Everyone knows the language which will please me most.

"Adieu, my beloved."

"*September* 15*th.*

"I am in health as usual. Sulivan, if possible, better, and all our party is well. I have one soul wholly engrossed by public affairs, and another that by night and day is ever employed on my dearest Marian. I still hope to see you in another month. Do not be uneasy if you do not receive frequent letters from me, three in four miscarry."

"*September* 20*th, Chunar.*

(Marian had "returned" to Baughulpore.)

"You are safe, and I am happy, but do not remain even at Baughulpore, if you hear any alarms go on. You may return to meet me, and the water is your element. I was frightened in reading some of your letters, your wild fancies, and your danger in approaching Patna. I have received a letter from Sir Elijah which has affected me even to a weakness. O that I could see my beloved Marian for one hour. You have been mistaken. I never was surrounded at Chunar, nor in anything like danger, though I have felt all the dangers to which others were exposed. I have lived even luxuriously, and breathed till this last week the air of Paradise." [*Then he gives the military details, which he precedes with,* "Now attend;" *he tells her of Major Popham carrying a fort, Pateeta, by storm, and routing a great rabble which attempted his camp*]. "I saw the firing and progress of the action,

which extended four miles. Yet, thank God, our loss in Sepoys was very small and no officer hurt. I cannot rejoice at victories won with blood. . . . . I am glad that Mrs. Sulivan is not with you, and that Sir Elijah is. May God bless and protect you. I was ever happy in my Marian, I am now proud of her. This trial has shown the world that worth of which I only before knew the degree. Tell Mrs. Motte I love and esteem her. I wrote to Sir Elijah.

"P.S.—The Nabob* has behaved honourably, and seems rejoiced at our success, which I carried to him with a congratulation for the Eed or Festival, a point of importance to a superstitious mind. All my party is well, none better than I am."

On September 23rd he gives her more details, and adds :—

"On August 21st I fled with four hundred men, and many thousands prepared to attack me from Benares. Armies spontaneously hastened to my aid, and on the 21st of the following month completely retrieved all that we before had lost. Read this to Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, and our friends, with my compliments.

"Adieu, my love."

September 24th.

" * * * * Major Blair describes Lutteefpoor as a place of great strength. Our plan has proved an excellent one; its effects beyond hope, and equal to one of your best moves at chess. I must yet recur to my fears for your safety. You are not absolutely safe at Baughulpore. I dread a surprise, the last effort of the Rajah's despair. Pray leave it; go anywhere on the river, on the other side of the river, or even on yours below Baughulpore. Consult Sir Elijah on this.

"Adieu my beloved, my most amiable, my best Marian."†

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* One who was attached to the Governor-General's party, Mr. Grand, records in his Narrative :—"During our confinement in Chunar the Nawab Vizier, Azoph ul Dowlah, visited Mr. Hastings. Mr. H. paid him the first visit, and trusted him, though conjured from various quarters not to do so."

† This is the last of the letters from Chunar; several of them seem to have been sent in duplicate.

PREFATORY NOTE TO THIRD SERIES OF LETTERS

Mrs. Hastings sailed for England in the *Atlas* in January, 1784. Macaulay tells how busy rumour was, as to the money lavished by the Governor-General in providing comforts and luxuries for his wife's voyage. The essayist probably derived his information from this passage by the authoress of "Hartly House," who was living in Calcutta at the time, viz., "The whole place is engaged in adieux, and Mrs. H—— will be accompanied to England (for the Governor sails in a different ship) by a Mrs. M—— who has been presented with five hundred gold mohrs (a thousand pounds) in return for her complaisance in making the voyage with her. Two black girls and a steward are Mrs. H's attendants, and the state cabin and round house will be entirely devoted to her use."

In addition to Mrs. Motte there were among the passengers a Captain Power, and Mr. Clevland, whose memory is still honoured at Bhaugulpore, who died before the pilot left the *Atlas*. A Mr. Doveton, possibly the official despatching the mail letters, was deputed to attend the ship to the Sand Heads, and bring back personal tidings of Mrs. Hastings so far. It seems highly probable too that a Captain Phipps was sent as a fellow voyager as far as St. Helena with a similar object, for in one of the letters given by Gleig, dated "Benares, October 1st, 1794," Hastings says to her, "Last night about 9 o'clock Major Sands brought me the news of Phipps' arrival at Calcutta. May God bless them both for it. Captain Phipps writes that he had your orders to deliver your packet to me with his own hand, and he is coming with it. I have written to accelerate his coming by relays of bearers from two or three stages beyond Patna."

The time and incidents embraced by this series of letters will be best shown by this extract from one written at this period, and given by Gleig, which testifies to the regularity and minuteness with which Hastings kept his wife informed of his movements and doings, viz., "I have now carried forward the history of my life from the 10th January to this time (September 24th), comprising the following parts or divisions.

1st. My residence in Calcutta to 17th February.
2nd. My journey to Lucknow, ending 27th March.
3rd. My residence at Lucknow, a long chapter, closed 27th August.
4th. My journey to Benares.
Lastly remain to follow,
5th. My residence at Benares.
6th. My return to Calcutta.
7th. Preparation for my voyage.
8th. The voyage.

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When Mr. Gleig published his memoir most of the letters thus enumerated were not forthcoming, the absent ones that would fit in with the few given by him having (with one exception) since come to light in the British Museum collection.

A strong instance of the incompleteness which Mr. Gleig's work almost of necessity labored under may be touched on here. In two of the letters to Mrs. Hastings given in the memoirs, expressions occur the import of which can only be guessed at by the reader, but which the letters of the same period now available, fully explain as being referable to what may be alluded to as a domestic incident in the life of Warren Hastings. There were no children born to Mrs. Hastings' second marriage, but she left India with hope of offspring. Much of her husband's anxiety about her voyage, and of his eagerness to hear from her, proceeded from this cause. His letters, after the receipt of hers from St. Helena, are largely taken up with this topic. I have not thought it fair to extract for publication more on this point than was necessary to convey the fact in explanation of the writer's elation, his hopes and fears, acting up in this respect, I trust, to the spirit of his own feelings, when he says, "I must not expose to writing the fond secrets of my breast, which should be sacredly reserved for you alone." At the date of this third series of letters the respective ages of Hastings and his wife were fifty-one and thirty-seven.

India has been often called the land of separation and regrets; it more deserves to be called so now perhaps than in the days of Warren Hastings; and the goings and comings, the partings and meetings again, which form the too frequent domestic experience of European families in India, introduce, now more than ever, an element of pathos into (what is called) Anglo-Indian life, which none but an Anglo-Indian community can sympathise with, or realise to the full. It is but a trite observation that many a husband or parent in eastern exile to-day revolves, like Warren Hastings a hundred years ago, temporary expedients to try and stave off the long voyage and the longer separation, and when the inevitable comes, and he is returning solitary from "the borders of the ocean," like Hastings, too, he writes in his first sad letter westwards, "I followed your ship with my eyes till I could no longer see it, and I passed a most wretched day with a heart swollen with affliction." These old faded letters of a Governor-General should bring home to those who aspire to an Indian career, that there is a reverse side to the medal—that there is a common harrow of domestic trial and pain, submission to which will sooner or later be the lot of most, for exemption can be purchased no more by the exalted than by the lowly.

"*Culpee, Sunday evening, January* 11*th*, 1784.

"My Beloved Wife,—I trust to the chance of Mrs. Sands reaching the Cape before you leave it for the safe delivery of this letter; but I have little to write, and scarce a motive for writing, but to gratify my own feelings. I left you yesterday morning. I followed your ship with my eyes till I could no longer see it, and I passed a most wretched day with a heart swol'n with affliction, and a head raging with pain. I have been three tides making this place, where I met my budgerow, and in it a severe renewal of my sorrow. The instant sight of the cabbin (*sic*), every object in it, and beyond it, brought my dear Marian to my imagination, with the deadly reflexion that she was then more than 200 miles removed from me, and still receding to a distance which seems, in my estimation, infinite and irretrievable. In the heavy interval which I have passed, I have had but too much leisure to contemplate the wretchedness of my situation, and to regret (forgive me, my dearest Marian, I cannot help it) that I ever consented to your leaving me. It appears to me like a precipitate act of the grossest folly; for what have I to look forward to but an age of separation, and if ever we are to meet again, to carry home to you a burthen of infirmities, and a mind soured perhaps with long, long and unabated, vexation. Nor is it for myself alone I feel, though I have been possibly more occupied than I ought to have been by the contemplation and sensation of my own suffering. Yours have been, and I am sure are at this time greater than my own, and I fear for their effects on your health. I shall dread the sight of Mr. Doveton. Yet, oh God of heaven! grant me good tidings by him. Indeed, my Marian, I think that we have ill-judged. The reflexion has often for an instant occurred to me that we were wrong, but I constantly repressed it. I urged everything that could fix the resolution beyond the power of recall, and felt a conscious pride in the sacrifice I was preparing to make. It is now past.

"I said that I should trust to the chance of Mrs. Sands delivering this letter to you at the Cape. She is now in the Danish ship, once the *Fortitude*, lying at this place, and expects to leave the river on Thursday next; possibly she may be later. I will send another letter to her from town. I shall sail again with this night's tide, and if I find myself within reach of Calcutta in the next, I intend to finish my voyage to-morrow in the feelchehra.* Possibly my apprehensions may be less gloomy when I have quitted this weary scene; but of one thing I am certain, that no time nor habits will remove the pressure of your image from my heart, nor from my spirits, nor would I remove it if I could, though it prove a perpetual torment to me. Yesterday, as I lay upon my bed, and but half asleep, I felt a sensation like the fingers of your hand gently moving over my face and neck, and could have sworn that I heard your voice. O that I could be sure of such an

* A large native boat; so called from the prow being commonly decorated with the figure of an elephant's head.

illusion as often as I lay down! And the reality seems to me an illusion. Yesterday morning I held in my arms all that my heart holds dear, and now she is separated from me as if she had no longer existence. O my Marian! I am wretched; and I shall make you so when you read this. Yet I know not why, I must let it go; nor can I add anything to alleviate which I have written; but that I love you more by far than life, for I would not live but in the hope of being once more united to you. O God grant it! and grant my deserving my blessed Marian fortitude to bear what I myself bear so ill, conduct her in health and safety to the termination of her voyage, and once more restore her to me with everything that can render our meeting completely happy. Amen, amen, amen."

"Yours ever, ever affectionate,

"W. HASTINGS."

(The next is written from Calcutta on the day after he reached it (January 12th). In it occur these passages.)

"I am not yet reconciled to our separation, and it seems to me the greatest of all follies that I should have taken so much trouble to make myself miserable and you unhappy, who were the object of it. I can now conceive many expedients by which the purpose of your voyage might have been as effectually answered, and what may you not have suffered even in your health from this. But I will complain no more. Since my return I have had so much employment for my mind that it has been much relieved: yet the instant that I am left to myself, and my ivory cot affords me no comfort, all my distresses rush back upon my thoughts, and present everything in the most gloomy prospect. . . . .

"I talk to you, but I receive no answer; nor can you hear me till I shall have forgotten what I have written. I miss the sweet music of your voice which none but myself have ever heard, and the looks of heaven which I am sure have never been cast but on me alone. I strive by the violence of imagination to see and hear you; but I cannot yet effect it. Yet you are not a moment from my remembrance, nor would I for the world that you should lose your place there, though you are a torment to me. I do not expect Doveton back these ten days, and with what terror shall I meet him, yet how impatiently do I wait to see him; may he bring me good tidings of you, and I will be comforted for all the past. From the state in which he leaves you I shall form my judgment, and with confidence of the remainder of your voyage. Remainder, good God; what a length is yet to come, and how much more before I can begin mine, that is to convey me to you! But enough, enough."

"*January* 15*th.*

"Mr. Doveton arrived last night and brought me letters from Mrs. Motte, C. Cowper and Mr. Phipps. These and particularly the first ought to have satisfied me, but they renewed the painfulness of my situation and my fears for your health, for I well knew the acuteness

of your feelings and the inability of your frame to support them. I shall now wait with the most anxious impatience for the return of the pilot who, Doveton tells me, may be back in sixteen or seventeen days.

. . . . . I have begun to set my house in order, and intend to give everything to the principal charge of Francis.* I have ordered an advertisement to be made for the sale of Allipoor and Rishera, and shall clear myself as speedily as I can of other incumbrances. I shall go to Allipoor to-morrow (Friday) and pass the remainder of the week there, because it will be agreeable to Lady D'Oyly. When she leaves me I believe I shall quit it for ever.

"I am in hourly expectation of the determination of the Board on a point of very great consequence to my credit in the close of my public service. I have made an offer of going to Lucknow for the purpose of making an arrangement of our concerns in that Government, the state of which you knew when you were with me. If I go I shall have a world of difficulties to encounter, and hazard to my reputation, but I know that if anything can relieve the affairs of that country, my presence will (I can say this to you, and you will not think it presumption); possibly I may close this by telling you that I do not go at all. I have done all that I could to gain this point, but shall be glad in my heart if I am defeated in it; for I wish it only on public grounds, every consideration of private interest strongly opposing it. I daily expect letters overland written after the receipt of mine by the *Surprize* packet in which I declared my resolution of resigning my office, and desired that my successor might be nominated; what may be the event of this declaration I cannot foresee; but whatever it be, my resolution is fixed and unalterable, and it will be so concluded when it is known that you are gone before me.

"I have fulfilled every obligation which I owed to the service, and done almost more than any other man, against such inducements as I have had to restrain me, would have done. But, my Marian, do not entertain hopes of improvement in our fortune. If your love for me is, as I am sure it is, superior to every other wish, you must be content to receive your husband again without other expectations—poor in cash, but rich in credit (at least he hopes so), and in affection unexampled. He is infinitely more concerned about his constitution than his wealth, trusting to the justice of his country for at least a competency, and to the good sense of his Marian for a sufficiency in whatever they may have for a subsistence.

"Since I wrote the preceding part of this letter, I have seen Mr. Wheler; he has promised his assent to my proposed visit to Lucknow, having declared the same in terms in a written minute to the Board, so that I have considered it as done past recall. Scott will have the copies of what has passed in Council upon the occasion if you wish to see them. There is nothing in them, but their conclusion, in which you can be interested."

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* Dr. Francis, his own medical attendant.

"*January 21st, Calcutta.*

"I have written three letters to you by Mrs. Sands in the hope of her overtaking you at the Cape. I scarce wish you to receive them, for they were written under the influence of sorrow, discontent and desponding, and something like the consciousness of infinite and incomparable folly in the recollection of the abundant pains which I had been taking to effect my own wretchedness.

"May the event prove the reverse. The resolution and its execution were very sudden, and I look back for the grounds of both and scarce can trace them—none that satisfy me. I only recollect that in my enthusiasm to sacrifice every consideration that regarded myself to the preservation of your health I thought only on the sacrifice, nor inquired of myself, till it was too late, whether it might have been attained by easier means and nearer our reach, or whether those which were chosen were not as likely to increase as to remedy the evil.

"But I have already torn up one sheet because I had half filled it with gloomy complaints. I will not afflict you more, and it is unmanly."

(He then recapitulates some of his doings since their separation, and again alludes to the selling of his property.)* And he adds:—

"Other schemes of retrenchments and economy I am forming, and they afford me a pleasure in the prospect which is connected with them . . . Let but a few months pass and I will begin to count the time which shall yet remain and please myself with its diminution. Continue my sweet Marian to love me, for in that hope and belief alone I live."

[January 26th, 1784. Is endorsed—"Received July 29th."]

(Speaks of his intended journey to Lucknow, by boat to Patna, and to the banks of the Soan, and thence (by land) and with a military escort.)

"I am not greatly afraid of what my friends in the Council may do in my absence, because I think they have not the courage to recall or thwart me and render themselves answerable for the consequence. . . . . But be it (his health) good or bad, I will live to see you in England, and no consideration that the kings or Parliaments of the earth can offer me shall prevail upon me to exceed the time which I have allotted to the period of service; and how, my Marian, will you receive a healthless and pennyless husband? Will your heart reproach him with precipitancy and improvidence, or will it lay both to the

* Viz.: "I have actually advertised the sale of it (Alipoor) in three lots, the old house and garden forming one, the new house and outhouses the second, and the paddock the third. I have parted with all my mares except four which have colts."

account of an affection which could disregard wealth and every blessing upon earth if they could only be obtained by a separation from the object of it? I have already yielded too much, too much to the opinions of others in consenting to, aye, and in urging your departure, too much to the public, which will not thank me, nor know the value of the sacrifice in remaining without you . . . .

"I am ever, my dearest and most beloved of all women, your most faithful and most affectionate husband,

"WARREN HASTINGS."

"*January* 31*st*; *closed February* 6*th*.

(Acknowledges the anxiously expected letter from her by the pilot. He sorrows for the death of Clevland, and bemoans the afflictions which the voyage must have brought her.)

. . . . . "Your motive for sending back the sloop* was consistent with the generous and unequalled sensibility of my dear Marian. This is her peculiar virtue, and too often her misery, and as often mine. Yet I wish that the vessel could have attended you three days further, for Mr. Doveton tells me that in that run you would fall in with lighter breezes."

(He hugs his grief, and endeavours to analyse what his sensations were at their recent parting.)

"Oh God, what a change was effected in the state of my existence within the compass of a few minutes, and what were my reflexions while I passed from the ship to my pinnace. My imagination presented you before me as I held you in my arms but a few moments past gazing with fondness and with despair on all the wealth that my soul ever sought to amass. I still felt your sweet lips and the warm pressure of your last embrace, and my heart told me that I had lost you for ever. I taxed myself with indifference to your happiness and my own, and was stupified with astonishment at the labour which I had with so persevering an industry taken to destroy both. I had bestowed a large portion of my time on the means of arranging it. I

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* The pilot sloop which attended the *Atlas* (with instructions presumably to accompany her farther than was usual) brought back the body of Mr. Clevland preserved in spirit. He was interred on January 30th in South Park Street Cemetery, where his tomb may still be seen. The slab of white marble on its front bears a long inscription (now barely legible) enumerating his eminent public services, and his amiable personal qualities. This valuable civil servant died at the early age of twenty-nine.

had used contrivances to overcome some difficulties which oppose it, and I had parted with a large portion of my fortune to accomplish it; and having conducted you to the borders of the ocean and seen you irrevocably departed. I was returning with the contemplation of the complete success which had attended so many exertions, and with a heart full of execration which had no object but myself for having made them. . . .

"I return to my dear Marian, and shall borrow many an abrupt and solitary interval to indulge myself in this semblance of conversation with her; but how faint the resemblance. I experience indeed a momentary illusion, but it instantly disappears and shows me through the void, all the delights of that entertainment whose image I seek and which my fancy cannot recover; the beloved face,* the animated and varied expression of features, the look of benevolence unspeakable, the sweet music of her tongue, and a thousand imperceptible graces that embellished her words and gave them the power of impression exceeding the strongest effects of the understanding. Your letter presents none of these attractions, yet it contains your words and conveys your thoughts, and I had rather brood over the melancholy passions excited by it, than be a sharer in the most pleasing entertainments that nature or art could afford me. . . . .

"I go (to Oude) on a bold adventure, from a divided and hostile Council, to a scene of difficulties unsurmountable but by very powerful exertions, to a country wasted by famine and threatened with an invading enemy; to a Government loosened by a twelve months' distraction, its wealth exhausted, and its revenue dissipated. I go without a fixed idea of the instruments which I am to employ or the materials on which I am to act; with great expectation entertained by others, but very moderate of my own; and my superiors at home labouring to thwart, and if they can, determined to remove me, and all this as well known to the Indian world as to our own. Add to all the foregoing a mind unequal to its former strength, and a constitution very much impaired. Yet I go with confidence, and should go with a cheerful heart, but for a strange sensation of removing still further from my Marian, though it is the time, not distance of place, that I ought to measure.

"Mr. Wheler said that he would agree to it whenever the Nabob's invitation arrived, and Mr. Stables in his coarse manner objected,

* The passionate affection of Warren Hastings for his wife never out-grew its spring; neither time or fruition seemed to lessen the fascination which even her physical attractions had for him. As their honeymoon lengthened and lingered, we find him, though in wintry age, a willing captive still, happy with the same wound, and thus harping on the same string—"your good and amiable mother" (he writes to her son in 1803), "who continues even in beauty to exceed every woman who comes within my observation," &c.

In this same letter Hastings tells his stepson how he loves him and his wife, "as the children of my adoption and of my heart's election."

because he said he doubted whether the Governor could be lawfully absent, and he expected me to be shortly dismissed from my office. These were not his words, but the sense was implied in them. New arrangements were shortly expected, he said, from England, and let them come, most joyfully should I receive and submit to them. . .

"Richard Johnson is appointed our Public Minister at Hyderabad, Mr. Holland's former station. Mr. Thomson, who is too sick to accompany me, is nominated to be the Company's advocate in the room of Mr. Lawrence, who is dead.

"I have still Sir Charles Blunt* and Major Conran dead weights on my hands, and Mrs. Ramus† teazing me for her stupid husband. I know you are interested in these points, and therefore I write them.

"Thompson tells me that you carried with you copies of Munny Begum's letter, and of mine to the Court of Directors written in her behalf, and Davy says you have the letters from the king and his minister with your titles; I therefore do not send them.

"Tiretta's‡ lottery drawn and the prize has fallen to himself. In

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* Sir C Blunt was a member of the Civil Service. An old Calcutta newspaper, May, 1795, announces the marriage of two of his daughters on the same day; one to Sir Alexander Seton, Bart.; the other to the Honorable C. A. Bruce, brother of Lord Elgin; the cememony took place in "Lady Shore's Garden-house." Tombs with these names are in South Park Street Cemetery.

† If we may credit the cynical Francis, poor Mrs. Ramus had some grounds for hoping for a slice of patronage pie, seeing that it was Marian who provided the "stupid husband" for her. In November, 1779, Francis notes, "Sir J. Day appears to be excessively hurt at the marriage of Ramus with Miss Vernet; he says that it has been hurried on in a most extraordinary manner by Mrs. Hastings. This lady, since she married poor Hastings, has taken a strange turn to match-making. She now knows what it is to be married." Ramus, moreover, had influential friends in England, and the judicious Hastings was careful to promote the wishes of such in the exercise of his patronage. It was in behalf of this same gentleman that the following tolerably broad hint was conveyed to Francis by the Private Secretary of the Prime Minister. "April, 1776. I have received a letter this morning from Mr. Nicholas Ramus, First Page to His Majesty, in which he acquaints me that a letter has come to his hand from his son, Mr. Henry Ramus, dated August 5th, in which he expresses great mortification that he had not then been so fortunate as to obtain any mark of the favour and protection of the Governor and Council of Bengal. No wonder that when these views of the duties expected of him in Bengal were frequently urged, this sarcastic Councillor should write, "My friends in England are very good to me, they give me as many opportunities as I can desire, and more then I can avail myself of, of serving persons of merit in this country; and they leave me the credit of it, clear of any return in England."

‡ Tiretta was, I believe, an architect and land surveyor, and also I think registrar of leases in Calcutta; he was wealthy. There is a quaint letter from him to Hastings, introducing a young lady who came to England from Cal-

the enumeration of articles of news I must not forget to inform you, my good Marian, that the Church scheme which you had so much at heart goes on most prosperously, and I expect the foundation to be laid in less than two months. The body will be a square of 70 feet, and will be decorated with a handsome steeple.*

. . . . . .

"My heart is filled with sentiments and emotions which I cannot write, but nothing new which you may not infer from those of your own. I never cease to think of you and with a tenderness which no words can describe. I too severely feel that you form a part of my existence. I remember when the cares and fatigues of the day made no impression on my spirits, because I looked on the comforts which were to follow the close of them and which never failed to efface them. Do you, my sweet Marian, recollect with what pleasure I always returned to you after a morning of fatigue—how peevishly I have sometimes resented your absence if you disappointed me of your company at dinner—how often during the course of it I have quitted my company to enjoy a momentary interval of your delightful conversation. And can I now lose you for eighteen long months without impatience, without anguish? Indeed I cruelly feel it. I miss you in every instant and incident of my life, and everything seems to wear a dead stillness around me; I come home as to a solitude; I see a crowd in my house and at my table, but not the look of welcome which used to make my home a delight to me; no Marian to infuse into my heart

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cutta. "Miss Roselyn de Carrion, sister of that unfortunate and lovely consort which for the space of three years has made my happiness, and which six months ago I had the misfortune of losing for ever, leaving me a little babe as a pledge of her friendship." His wife died in 1796 and was buried in the Portuguese burying-ground, but nearly two years afterwards, "owing to circumstances too painful to relate," the widower had the remains exhumed and transferred to a grave in a cemetery which he bought for the purpose, and where her tomb is still standing. Tiretta presented the new cemetery called after him (in ~~South~~ Park Street) to "all the Catholic Europeans or their immediate descendants dying in this Settlement."

* The present St. John's, whose centenary was commemorated this year (1887). The first stone was laid in April, 1784. It was opened for service on Sunday, 24th June, 1787. I have a note from an old newspaper that the collection made that day amounted to over 3000 sicca rupees. The Rev. W. Johnson preached the sermon, and took for his text Psalm 93, v. 5 ("Holiness becometh thine house for ever"). Zoffany presented the altar piece. The painting is probably a fine one, as this artist had been previously commissioned to paint the one now in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, the subject being the same, "The Last Supper." But the merits or demerits of the Calcutta painting have been for many years invisible, owing to the painting having been elevated into obscurity in the entrance porch. Tradition says that all the figures are likenesses of Calcutta notorieties of the day: Judas being represented by Tulloh the auctioneer, who thought, poor man, that he was sitting for St. John.

the fulness of content, and make me pleased with everybody and with everything about me. Even in my dreams I have lost you. This is not all, but I must not expose to writing the fond secrets of my breast, which should be most sacredly reserved for you alone. I am unhappy, and shall be so, nor do I wish to be otherwise till I am again in possession of you."

— ——

Endorsed—"Received on the evening of my arrival in London, which was the 28th July."

Calcutta, February 7th.

"The *Neptune*, which will carry this with public despatches to Bussora, will wait there for a returning packet and possibly for the reply to this. . . . . Write only by land conveyance, none by sea will reach me.* I am fixed in my resolution to follow you by the end of December. Nothing but death or bodily restraint shall have the power to detain me. Indeed, I have stayed too long, had I not the calls which I have to depart, for my constitution is not capable of those exertions which I have been accustomed to make, nor likely to bear more than the term of service which I have prescribed to it. I have no more to write that I can trust to so doubtful a conveyance but that I live only in my love for you and in my hopes of being reunited to you never to part again.

Adieu."

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* In those days, when England might have been at war any moment with a maritime power, nearly all important letters were sent in duplicate, one copy by long sea, another by the route indicated here. Hastings' letters, except the portions relating to very private matters, were copied by native clerks. How long it took for the news of the outbreak of the European war to reach India may be seen from this passage in Justice Hyde's journal:—"We knew *via* Suez, on 6th July, 1778, that war had been declared between England and France at London on 18th March and in Paris on 30th March. On July 10th the Company's forces took possession of Chandernagore." Later again it was announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of 12th June, 1793, that France had declared war against England on 8th February, and the local newspaper chronicles that French vessels in the Hooghly were immediately seized by the master-attendant, and that Chandernagore was occupied by two companies of European Infantry and one of Sepoys. From the same source comes the information that "the French Gentlemen were all put into the Arsenal the same evening, but the next day they were permitted to go about the town each with a sentry accompanying him; afterwards they were summoned to meet at the Mayor's and give their parole. The news of a war with France has given great spirits to the peons at the post office, as they are in hopes of having no more of *Citoyen*, a word that puzzled them exceedingly. No sooner was the direction read of *à Citoyen such-a-one*, but all the peons cried out '*Wo Sahib hum logue pychanta ny.*'"

Calcutta, February 11th.

(Tells her of an illness he has had, lest she should hear an exaggerated account of it from other sources.)

"My greatest suffering arose from the contemplation of the picture before me as I lay in my bed, and the reflection of the vast distance which separated me from my Marian.

"She knew not whether I was sick or well, nor if my complaint increased could her fortitude be put to another severe trial, or I awake to the sight of her blessed spirit sent to relieve me.

"In these reflections I more than once turned my face towards the spot where the beautiful apparition formerly stood before me when I was in a state which, but for so powerful an aid might, and I believe would, have proved fatal to me. But my eyes met not their desire, and my imagination but faintly represented it. . . . . Did I tell you in my last that the Board had agreed to erect a monument * at Baughulpore in honor of poor Clevland's memory? I enclose what I propose for his epitaph, if approved by my colleagues, to whom I have not yet shown it.

"I send you a scrap of Persian poetry written by a living friend of Sir Wm. Jones: it will be a good lesson for you and Mrs. Motte; it has a few touches of good poetry, but not one of nature. I have received many of your letters, my Marian, but never mistook one of them for a bottle of rose-water, nor the cossid who brought it for a Fawn of Khoten."

February 19th.

("Off Nya Serai." Says that he left for Lucknow on the evening of the 17th February. Dr. Balfour went with him; Dr. Francis did not.)

"I am now on my way to Sooksagur† which I expect to reach by

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* Bishop Heber says in his Journal (1824):—"Mr. Clevland's monument is in the shape of a Hindoo Mut, in a pretty situation on a green hill, and the natives still meet once a year in considerable numbers, and have a handsome poojah in honour of his memory."

Thackeray in his "Four Georges" (the lecture on George IV.) refers to the affection of the natives for Clevland's memory, as mentioned by Heber.

† Sooksagur was in the district of Nuddea, about forty miles from Calcutta on the left bank of the Hooghly. Mr. C. Grant, in his sketches of rural life in Bengal, says, "The original house was built by Warren Hastings as a country residence for himself and three other civilians, and for the purpose of their having an English farm where experiments in the growth of coffee and other productions of that character could be tried. It was indeed the first property connected with the soil of Bengal out of the 24 Pergunnah's possessed under sanction of Government by Europeans. The property afterwards passed into the

noon. . . . . Poor Croftes, with the gout in his head and in defiance of it and of my intreaties, hurrying after me to make my reception at his house most welcome and salutary. . . . . The night before last you appeared before me; and it is strange, for the first time, in my sleep; you had returned to me from sea, and looked pale and dejected with sickness. I feel, my Marian, a degree of pain in the thought that I am now moving daily from you; and what a length of time; how filled with events that will add to the measure of it, is yet to pass before I can even begin to count off the days which remain of our separation. Oh God! preserve us both in life and health till the close of that period arrives, and give us years of happiness in compensation for those which we have suffered in absence from each other.

"You left the wrong copy of your will, which was endorsed 'to be taken with you.' I have given it to Croftes, and my own I have left with Larkins."

"*Nuddea, February 23rd.*

"I have found out a method to see and converse with you whenever I sleep; and I have had your company every night for these four nights past, but you do not always wear the looks of kindness which I am sure you always will wear if ever again I see you in substance."

"*February 24th.*

(Describes the progress of his journey.)

"While I was preparing to land at Baughulpore, I received a parcel of letters which I took with me into my palankeen, and the first subject of amusement which they presented to me was a private letter from Mr. Wheler and Stables communicating the enclosed intelligence. This was a fine encouragement on the commencement of my journey to prosecute it to the length of 800 miles. It occupied my thoughts

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hands of the celebrated Joseph Baretto, a rich Portuguese merchant of Calcutta, who lived there in great style and founded a R. C. Chapel for the use of his own family. Mr. B's successor, Mr. Laura'etta, a Spaniard celebrated for his hospitality and sporting propensities, converted the Chapel into a residence for Mahouts and fighting cocks. The ravages of a changing river, however, have destroyed all traces both of greatness and degradation; for not only have the house and beautiful village and grounds adjacent disappeared, but the river is now fully one and a half miles on the S E. side of where the house formerly stood." Here Croftes' tenancy is not accounted for; he probably preceded the Portuguese merchant.

during the greatest part of the night, but (thank God) without spoiling my appetite for breakfast.

"On a full examination of it I do believe it to be a forgery, and if it is one, it was aimed at my present commission, though I know not how such a design could have originated, as this certainly did, at Madras. It is not possible for the Parliament to have passed such unpopular and important Acts so early as September, for they were not in effect assembled. Neither is it possible for the news of it to have passed from England to Bombay making a zigzag to St. Helena in three months and a half, as impossible is it that they should have got it at Tranquebar from Bombay in twenty-two days. Besides, what budget have I given to Major Scott, I believe it to have been fabricated in the shop of Ld. M———y.* . . . . . .

. . . . . .

"I should give one-half of my life for the certainty of beginning the other half with you to-morrow. But I would not wish for the immediate possession even of such a blessing, at the purchase of such a mortification as to be thrust out of my seat by such fellows as Ld. M- ——y, Mr Francis, and General Richard Smith.

. . . . . .

"Your god-daughter is a very fine laughing girl."†

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"*Feb. 28th, Baughulpore*

"I forgot to tell you that Munny Begum‡ expressed her regret of your departure in terms which seemed too natural to have proceeded from mere civility. I was pleased to hear her say that she grieved on my account as much as for her own loss in your departure and the necessity which occasioned it."

* Sir C. Macartney, who had been travelling companion to C. J. Fox. Afterwards he became Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras, Governor of Cape of Good Hope, and Ambassador to China.

† Marian Impey; Mrs. Hastings was her god-mother. There is a note in Hastings' writing amongst the Impey MSS. in the British Museum commencing, "Mr. and Mrs. Hastings present their compliments to Sir E. and Lady Impey, and request to know how their little Marian is." This was at the time when the relations between Hastings and Impey were very strained, owing to friction between the Government and Supreme Court (1779-80).

‡ This lady, who was on such friendly terms with Hastings, was the widow of Meer Jaffir Khan: in 1772 Hastings had appointed her to be guardian to the young Nawab at Moorshedabad. It will be remembered that one of the charges brought against Hastings by Nuncomar was of having received a large bribe from the Begum for the appointment. The Begum denied the allegations of Nuncomar, and Hastings pronounced the letter from her, which Nuncomar produced, to be a forgery. The majority in the Council deposed Munny Begum.

March 1st, Patna.

Recapitulates, in case of accident, a good deal that was contained in previous letters. When alluding to the starting on the present journey says :—

"I went on board my pinnace very low, but happy to be relieved from the tumult and importunity of Calcutta, for no one had mercy on me, and my gates though shut let people through like a sieve. . . .

"Having been my own servant so long it is a great comfort to find my own people again about me, and Turner * who has joined me here from Thibet has brought me with other presents from the Lama, a labadda, a furred cap and a pair of boots which would keep me warm in Siberia; among other things a box of genuine musk in powder, which I shall send by the post to Dr. Francis to be sent to you. Oh, my sweet Marian, what would I give to be able to convey to you all that has passed in my mind during my long journey. You occupied every step of it and filled my heart with an affection which others may have felt but which never warmed the breast of any man living in a degree exceeding the warmth of mine. Many a severe pang too have I suffered in the gloominess which sometimes seized my imagination, often has my throat swelled and the tears have filled my eyes while your image floated in the vision of my fancy; and yet though my hours have been hours of affliction, I know not how to account for it, but they have yielded a sensation so like to happiness that I would not part with my reflections for all the blessings which the world could yield without you. This is an inconsistency which your heart will understand by the similitude of its own feelings—at least I believe so —; much more I could say but cannot trust sentiments so sacred to the uncertain conveyance of a letter. I live only in the hope of regaining the possession of my adored Marian; I would not live if that hope had entirely forsaken me, and yet how many chances are against me, but I will not think of them.

"I have the pleasure to send you with this a part of the occupation of my journey. It was begun while I lay on my bed sick in Calcutta, but the greater part was composed between Calcutta and Baughulpore. I do not believe that the wealth of the world could have bribed my genius to produce such a composition had you not formed the principal subject of it, and my imagination not been assisted by the hope of its becoming a future source of entertainment to you. If your own feelings meet and acknowledge those which I have described give it a place in the collection of the former effects of your inspiration. But if you read it with a composed mind, and admire it only as a production of mere poetical merit (for so much I am sure of from the partiality of your judgment), burn it, for it is good for nothing. My hopes are more sanguine. I expect to see it written in the book and in the fair

* Lieutenant Turner. In another letter he refers to him as "a young kinsman of mine."

scrawl of my dear Marian's own hand, and if it should prove the last of your volume, it will complete an assemblage of which there are few examples of so many poetical attempts, God knows whether good or bad, produced from the strength of a mind heated by love alone, without the least inspiration of natural genius, and without a sentiment in the whole collection that exceeded the truth, and few that equalled the feelings that gave birth to them.

"Find out means to let me know that you have received this, for I would not have it fall into other hands for the world, and should be grieved that you missed it.'

The next is from Buxar, 8th March. It ends :—

"Compliments to Bibby Motte. I have always a little love for her; it would be called a great one were not yours too near it to lessen it by the comparison."

"*Lucknow, August* 13*th*.

(Endorsed "Received April 18, 1785.")

. . . . . "Scott writes that the minister would write to me in His Majesty's name to put off my departure to another year. My whole life has been a sacrifice of my private ease and interests to my public duty, and to more, to public opinion, and this requisition may come to me in such a form as to have the force of an obligation. In that event I shall bid everlasting farewell to all my hopes, for the period which nature has fixed for the duration of my service is already past, and the attempt to prolong it to another season must end me, or which would be worse, send me home laden with infirmities, besides other hazards. . . . . I am not pleased with Scott's going into Parliament,* and less with his annexing to it the plan of securing his

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* Major John Scott, the energetic but ill-selected agent of Hastings in England, was M.P. for West-Looe from May 1784 to 1790, and then for Stockbridge, whence he was turned out on petition in 1793 and ordered to be prosecuted for bribery. He took the additional name of Waring on acquiring an estate in Cheshire. I find from a note by the Editor of the Cornwallis Correspondence, that Scott had been married three times, the last being to Mrs. Esten, the actress, who it is there alleged had long been notorious for her gallantries, hence the allusion in the following, which appeared on the occasion of the third marriage.

"Still she is young and still she's fair,
Our cheers and plaudits sharing,
And though well known for ages past,
She's not the worse for *wearing*."

Scott would seem to have been a much greater success in Parliament than Macaulay's allusions to him imply. His interest for the present and future generations however is due to his being the grandfather of the dramatist and novelist, Charles Reade.

seat for myself. I reserve to myself the privilege of chusing my own mode of life, and shall certainly not prefer one which shall exact from me the sacrifice of my ease and health and at the same time place me in a condition unsuited to my talents. Another year in India will disqualify me to leave it, by the want of means to pay my passage.

"Among the many causes of uneasiness which I suffer in my present situation, there are two which I can only mention to you, because to others I might expose myself to the ridicule of giving myself too much consequence.

"It is possible that the mistaken zeal of my friends may prompt them to solicit for me the grant of honors or a pension which I may be compelled to reject. You are already pretty well acquainted with my sentiments upon both these points. I should be sorry to be reduced to the necessity of doing what may be deemed by others presumption; but as I am content to remain in the humble sphere in which I was born, I have a right to refuse whatever shall place me in an improper comparison with others, to whom I do not allow an equality with me. These reflexions have been thus renewed by an extract sent me, I forget by whom, of a newspaper paragraph which I will enclose in this.

"My friends may proclaim my moderation, but they mistake in asserting that I shall think my *services rewarded by the settlement of a fifth or a sixth part* of the sum of Lord Clive's jagheer for life, or by *any* settlement that shall terminate with my life. If any such provision shall be made for me, or any title given me that shall place me on a level with his Lordship of Madras, even your influence, my Marian, shall not prevail upon me to accept of either."

(In the letter the newspaper cutting is enclosed.)

"This jagheer," it says, "is £30,000 a year—a sum so enormous that it never did or could enter into the head of any friend of Mr. Hastings to bring forward so extravagant or so barefaced a proposition to the consideration of a general court; but the fact is, that, in conversations, and conversations only, some very respectable and independent proprietors have observed that the falling in of (the late) Lord Clive's jagheer this year might give the East India Company a favorable opportunity of rewarding the services of Mr. Hastings by settling upon him, when he quits India, a fifth or a sixth part of the amount of it annually for his life, supposing it should appear, as it is generally understood, that his fortune is very inadequate to his station."

. . . . . .

"How often have you heard me declare in the most resolute terms that I never would be seen by you under the disgusting circumstances of a state of sickness; yet the last sixteen months that we passed together were a period of continued illness or of a habit laboring under the effects of illness. In all that long interval you were never from me, and where was my resolution?*

* Mrs. Hastings was present with others at her husband's bedside during his last illness. Gleig tells how, "not without a visible effort," Hastings drew a

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"Major Toone has often told me how much he was shocked at my appearance when he first saw me after his return to Bengal, and yet I was then thought, and thought myself, to be well recovered.

"You had been the close and hourly spectactor of all the changes which I had passed through, my bosom associate at a time in which you ought to have been removed to a distance from me, and what was worse, in daily consultation with my physicians.

"It is true that I am indebted to my first illness for such a proof of your affection as is almost without example, nor in the whole course, or during the consequences of it, have I ever perceived any alteration in that tenderness which I before experienced and which constituted the great and only blessing of my life. Yet I almost regret that you did not leave me earlier, and in the many solitary moments in which my thoughts dwell on the remembrance of those which I have passed with you without the mixture of other subjects (for you are never absent from my recollection), I cannot conquer the apprehension that having seen me so long under circumstances so unfavorable, and these too the last and of course such as must ever accompany your remembrance of me, the delicacy of your affection may suffer, if it have not already suffered, some diminution. Were I present with you, my constant attentions and the evidences which my love would produce every hour and every instant of its reality, would prevent that effect on a heart so generous as yours. But what have I now to support my interests in it during so long a separation. You will remember many instances of unguarded levity, petulancy, and that kind of indolence which wears the appearance of indifference: and I much fear that there will be more ready to obtrude themselves on your recollections than those instances of my behaviour which might excite your kinder remembrance of me. I could run over a long catalogue of offences with which my conscience has often reproached me, and every trivial incident which could bear that construction, and which escaped my notice at the time in which it happened, now appears with a black dye before me. It is not so in my remembrance of your behaviour which I look back upon with love, respect and admiration, and wonder how I could suffer whole hours (but never days, there I must do myself justice) to pass without seeing you when you were but a few steps removed from me. Yet my sweet Marian, remember with what delight you have known me frequently quit the scene of business and run up to your apartment for the sake of deriving a few moments of relief from the looks, the smiles, and the sweet voice of my beloved.

"I have resolved to carry Sands home with me, and David Anderson, whom I prevented from returning to England at the time that I undertook my present commission. These are my two great agents.

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cambric handkerchief which was at his pillow over his face. Those who were weeping near him, finding that he suffered it to remain for some time, gently removed it, and saw that he was dead.

Sands manages all my expenses, and with such care and economy that I shall be a gainer, instead of losing, as I did by my last expedition, above a lac and-a-half of rupees.

"I have been privately told that the friends of Richard Johnson are amongst my worst enemies in England. He is a sad fellow if this be true. Be on your guard both with him and Middleton.*

"My Marian, I am miserable. Though I know it to have been impossible that you should have written to me, yet my disappointment has tortured me with sensations (for I cannot call them reflections of the mind) similar to those which could arise from the worst suggestions of evil. It seems as if I had totally lost you, or (God forgive me) that you had totally forgotten me. I see you nightly, but such is the sickliness of my imagination that you constantly appear to turn from

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* In this passage, which is very suggestive of the secrecy and caution which were characteristic of Hastings, he mentions two well-known protéges of his, whose names occur frequently in the proceedings relating to the Court of Oude, where Middleton had been Resident, and Johnson Assistant-Resident. They got into bad odour with the Governor-General for a time, owing apparently to a want of vigour in the measures necessary for replenishing the Honourable Company's treasure chest. Among the Impey MSS. one folio volume is filled with letters from these two officials to the Chief Justice during the year 1782, keeping him informed of all that was going on at Lucknow, and asking for his intercession in their behalf with Hastings. Johnson especially deprecates the Governor-General's displeasure. These letters testify to Impey's being largely in Hastings' confidence about matters at Lucknow, and to his being willing to incur trouble about State affairs not connected with his own official duties. Nathaniel Middleton at a later period was called "Memory Middleton," and after his death "Middleton of Unhappy Memory," in allusion to his evidence at Hastings' trial. Johnson went by the nickname of "Rupee Johnson." Hastings was under a delicate obligation to Johnson, if we may believe the following authorities, viz. :—Francis writes (October, 1777), "Army contract given to Johnson for three years, brother of the worthy gentleman who negotiated Mrs. Imhoff's divorce;" a week later :—"Job for Johnson; Hastings sometimes has qualms—Barwell never." Hicky puts the matter more coarsely :—"June, 1781. A correspondent observes that Dick Squib will unquestionably succeed Mr. Bristow as Resident at the Court of Oude, for two very good reasons, first because he was instrumental in effecting a certain *sham* divorce; and secondly for fear he should betray some secret transactions of the *Great Mogul* and Nat Chucklehead, into which he has wormed himself with his wonted cunning. Can any man possess greater merits?" Richard Johnson was one of the eighteen Europeans on the Jury panel challenged by Nuncomar. He was one of the suite of Hastings in the night escape to Chunar. He was for a short time British Resident at Hyderabad, a post in which he incurred censure which led to his resignation. He was elected Chairman of the General Bank, Calcutta, in 1788, and when he retired from the service he seems to have joined a banking firm in London, with whom Hastings kept his account.. He was on the most friendly terms with Mr. and Mrs. Hastings in England; both wrote to him frequently, the former always signing his letters "yours affectionately."

me with indifference, nor can my reason overcome the gloom which these phantoms leave on my mind, for it is the effect of bodily distemper, independent of the understanding. How hard! My dreams vex me with unreal evils, and the real happiness of my past life appears as a dream, as a dream past long since, and the traces almost effaced.

"P.S.—I will send you the impression of a most beautiful seal which I have had cut with your titles."

Note.—Here there is a wide hiatus in the British Museum letters, *i.e.*, between August 13th from Lucknow, and November 20th from Calcutta. Only two of the letters that intervened are in Gleig, viz., one from Benares, dated September 24th, closed October 11th, and one from Calcutta, dated November 14th. In a postscript to the former, dated October 8th, he says:—"Phipps arrived yesterday morning and delivered me your letter (viz., from St. Helena). I am the happiest man living, but it is not in a P.S. that I can answer it or say what my feelings have been and are from the perusal of it. I will not believe that I have been raised in my hopes above the heights of mortality to be dashed to the earth with a severe fall. . . . . Your permission, my Marian, was unnecessary; all mankind knew it as soon as I did, and some before, and in truth I think all the world is mad with joy for it." It is strange that in the two following letters, that of November 14th and 20th, he does not refer to this "it." Not till the letter of December 5th does he profess to answer the St. Helena dispatch. This may be explained either by the fact of the later letter being conveyed by a channel which he expected would outstrip the two previous ones, or from these latter being intended for other eyes besides those of his wife. We gather that he sometimes confined himself to general topics, even in his letters to her, owing to the reasons given in this passage from the Benares letter referred to above. "What a letter have I written, and who that read it without the direction would suspect it to be written by a fond husband to his beloved wife? Perhaps my other letters, if intercepted, would appear to bear too much of the real character of the writer, and atone more than they ought for the contrary deficiency of this. But the subject and occasion required it. The first part was intended for a duplicate another hand, and all that follows to this page for communication."

"*Calcutta, November 20th*, 1784.

(Tells of his return journey down.)

. . . . . "But from the evening of my arrival in Calcutta to this day I have not enjoyed a moment of bodily ease, but have had all the devils of languor, dejection of spirits (a thing unknown at Lucknow), nightly oppression, feverish heat and headaches, which I had

for my companions this last year at this season of it. For these reasons I eat no supper, go to bed at ten, abstain wholly from wine and every other liquid but tea and water. I ride every morning and gently, and use the cold bath as often as I ride, and will oftener if I am prevented from riding; if this will not do I will diet myself on pish-pash, or bread and water, or live like Cornaro on the daily subsistence of an egg, but I will have health in some way, though I may forego all the blessings of it. Blessings? What blessings can it yield me? Let me have but existence and freedom from pain, with the full exercise of my mental faculties. I desire no more till I see the last of Saugor Island.

"My friend Wilkins* has lately made me a present of a most wonderful work of antiquity, and I am going to present it to the public. Among many precepts of fine morality I am particularly delighted with the following, because it has been the invariable rule of my latter life, and often applied to the earlier state of it before I had myself reduced it to the form of a maxim in writing. It is this: '*Let the motive be in the deed and not in the event.* Be not one whose motive for action is the hope of reward. Let not thy life be sport of inaction. Depend upon application'' (that is, as it is afterwards explained, the application of the rule of moral right to its consonant practice without care for the event, as it may respect ourselves). 'Perform thy duty, abandon all thought of the consequence, and make the event equal, whether it terminate in good or evil, for such an equality is called application.'

"To this good rule I will adhere, careless of every event but *one*, and that shall console me, though the voices of all mankind shall cry out against me. And what is that one? Oh God grant me the blessing of a satisfied conscience, and my Marian to reward it. . . . . I will send with it by this conveyance the firman confirming your high titles, and the translation. The former is a beautiful sheet of paper, and that is all it's worth, for though your virtues merit honours greater than kings can bestow, yet these will not raise your station in life an inch—no, not the breadth of a hair—above that of Mrs. Hastings in your own country (I mean England, for that is your own). Nor were they given to your worth, even in this, for had you been destitute of every quality and accomplishment which you possess, you might have been

* In a subsequent letter he says he has sent this work to the Court of Directors with the request that they would cause it to be printed. I find some of this accomplished Orientalist's services to literature and civilization in India thus referred to by Mr. Marshman in the *Calcutta Review*: "It was at Hooghly that the first press ever established at this Presidency was set up, and there in 1778 the first book was printed in Bengal, 'The Bengali Grammar of Halhed,' from Bengali type, the punches of which were cut with his own hands, by Mr. afterwards Sir Charles, Wilkins. Such an event, the harbinger of civilization and improvement, is of itself enough to immortalize any place, even though all its political and commercial greatness should be entirely gone." When he retired from the Civil Service he became the first librarian of the India House library.

the Queen of Sheba, the Goddess of Fortune, or whatever excellence you had chosen for your own appellation. So don't be proud of your titles; let the Queen of Sheba, if she knows it, boast that her name is united to yours. Your husband, too, is the adopted son of a king, and sworn brother of an heir apparent, yet the height of his present ambition is speedily to become a private gentleman, and in that character all the royalty that now runs in his veins will be lost, and even his great father will forget that he gave it him. Remember these reflections when you look at your firman, and be sure not to forget them when you show it. I know you will, for my Marian has her foibles, and, God forgive me, but I have known my own vanity accompanying her, and have gazed on her with full eyes of love and delight when she gave her pride, her graceful pride, its full career. This is meant as a lesson against pride—don't mistake it for encouragement. . . . .

"I have given your shawls which Johnson provided for you to Captain Joe Price, who has undertaken to convey them safe to your hands. He will not tell me how, and you may depend upon receiving them. . . . . .

"I am now writing at Alipore; for it has been put up to sale and bought in again. I have sold Rishera for double the sum that was paid for it. This is a riddle, and I leave it to your sagacity to unravel it.

"Adieu, my heart's beloved. O ever love me, for no man ever merited by love a larger return of it than I do.

Alipore, Sunday, December 5th, 1784. Closed the 8th, at night.

Is in answer to Marian's budget from St. Helena, and begins, "I am now again reading your most delightful though painful letter."

He dwells on his delight at learning from this letter that when she left St. Helena on 15th May it was "in perfect health and in the full assurance of being in a state which might in its event make me most truly the happiest of all mankind." His thoughts revert to this subject every now and then, and any topic seems to furnish an occasion for introducing it.

"I too, my Marian, have often reproached myself, and sometimes ungenerously murmured at you, for our separation. It was, I own, *my* act. But do not give me credit for it, I was provoked and intimidated to it. I was told by everyone that it was absolutely necessary; somebody, I forget who, I believe it was Sir Elijah, put the dreadful case to me that should you stay and fall a sacrifice to my weakness, how would I reproach myself as the cause of your death. You too once said, feelingly, speaking of some lady who died, 'Ah! she staid

a year too long.' These reflexions stung me and fastened on my resolution. Yet am I now glad that it was so. [I now persuade myself that it has been the cause of saving your life. . . . . Perhaps, too, it has been the preservation of my own, for I am not sure that I should have left Calcutta had you staid in it.] The words thus [ ] marked were written by impulse and without reflecting that the event to which it relates is now past the course of fate. It has happened or is impossible. But I will let the words stand for a happy omen. Am I not superstitious? . . . . .

"I thank you for your care of yourself. Your mode of living was also very like my own; I was always in bed by ten and dressed before sunrise. I am compelled to exceed in Calcutta, but not very much. I have found that when I can adhere to my early hours and morning rides I get tolerable health. I have also made trial of total abstinence from wine, of which I have already experienced the benefit, and will continue it.

"Yes, my beloved, we will have many walks together, and infinitely more delightful than those of Alipore. Many an excursion too from home. I have a variety of schemes of pleasure playing in my imagination which will all derive their relish from your society and your participation of them. Let me but follow and be once more in possession of my heart's treasure, I care not for what may happen without doors if I have but what I wish within.

"I thank you for your kindness to my little horse, and the mango plants, not that I care three cowries for the latter, and, when I think of you, as little do I care for the former; but they are indications of affection, and therefore I am delighted to be told of them. Apropos, poor Sulliman begins to grow old and wants the vigor which he had, though he retains his spirit. I have resolved to leave him as you did Beauty, under charge of Mr. Thompson, who will be kind (to him) for your sake and mine as long as he lives . . . . .

He alludes to his having been ill and to her nursing him on a former occasion, and adds (referring to an illness he had after Marian's departure)—

"I knew that if it were possible for me to be blessed with your presence, I should find you as anxiously watchful for my safety, and feel the same effect of your kindness that I had done. I regretted the want of it, and at the same time blamed the indiscretion that had ever allowed you, in breach of my resolution and established maxim of years, to approach me in the hour of sickness. For this I a thousand times reproach myself, and I think I know how to prevent the like weakness hereafter. Yet would I give the world to attend you, had you the same occasion, for even sickness has not the power of making you unlovely, and I am sure it has ever heightened my love with the sight of your suffering, and the dread of worse. . . . . .

"I am mightily pleased, and if anybody should read this but your-

self he would say, 'and mightily foolish!'—and let them say it. All the wise men that have ever written about love have agreed to call it a folly, and so pronounce him only truly wise and truly happy who can confine his search of happiness to himself alone, and is totally exempt from all impressions of external accidents. In this sense I am far gone in folly indeed, so far that I had rather be miserable with my present feelings than cured with apathy.

"I am vexed that nobody will talk of you to me. It was the case even when you were with me. No one ever mentioned your name to me, except in the common form of civility. I must except Mrs. Samson; she would praise you to me for an hour together, and had she been fond of talking, it was the sure way to engross all the conversation to herself, for I never interrupted her but to encourage her to lengthen the subject.

. . . . . .

"How sweetly playful, how bewitching my Marian is when she is in spirits, and how perfectly in her expression and manner different from all the rest of womankind; you cannot conceive how perfectly your image starts up before me as I read some passages which are most characteristical of you.

"My mind is naturally gloomy and yours sprightliness itself, which has some time changed the quality of mine. As an ancient poet, speaking of his Marian, says:

> 'And sprightliness whose influence none can feel,
> But catch the infection, and enliven'd grow.'

. . . . . .

"What might not have been the consequence of so many complicated assaults on my poor Marian's tender frame, especially the last; how fatal to our hopes, and even to our existence, for I am convinced that mine is bound to yours, and I hope it is. But I ought not to complain, since it has proved the strength of your constitution in that particular about which I am now most anxious.

. . . . . .

"But the event is passed conjecture, hopes, and wishes. I will arm myself for the worst, I will let the best operate as it may, that I shall be most unphilosophically elated with it.

. . . . . A third gale! Indeed your trials have been very severe. Few men confined to their cabins under such circumstances would have maintained so equal a mind, or thought with fondness on their absent wives or mistresses, with all the elements threatening them with instant dissolution. You may say what you please. I affirm that you have a truer principle of courage than any woman that I know; a strong sense of danger, with a spirit collected and conscious of its obligations, and (as Francis says) I will bring witnesses to prove it.

"You conjure me not to set my heart on it. Indeed but I do, and so peremptorily, that it will be almost broken if I am disappointed; but I ought not to say so, considering what may have happened when you are reading this.* . . . . . .

"Oh my Marian! what a surprise of pleasure is it to me to read my own maxim in the following quotation of one of yours—'Besides' (I must quote the whole because I am proud of it), 'besides you have that self-satisfaction, and it has always been your characteristic that you on all occasions have acted as a man of virtue and honor ought to do, whatever consequences may ensue. Surely that is a bliss, &c.' If I add the context my eyes will overflow; they do almost, and I shall not see to write it correctly. . . . . .
I may not know it before the proper time of my departure, as the event cannot have much exceeded the end of August. To reason upon probabilities on such a subject may be useful to myself, but must be totally uninteresting to you; you know what has passed and may in one event (which God forbid, for yet something is left even in the happiest state for a reverse) renew your afflictions. I am not happy, my Marian, while my heart swells with the hope of supreme happiness; I hope too much to be easy. . . . . .

"I have this morning (the 8th) received a letter from the Prince addressed to you, with a present of a *rezy* and a shawl handkerchief. These I will send you by the *Surprise*. They are according to the etiquette; so accept them as they are intended, and don't examine them by their qualities, for they are of ordinary fineness. I am pleased with this mark of his delicacy and attention, for I am sure it proceeded from himself. I am not a little pleased that you should receive this evidence of the notoriety of the Governor-General's affection for his Marian. Had you been merely his wife, the Prince would no more have thought of paying this compliment to you than of writing to the Queen of Sheba.

"And the letter will please you; Scott† is translating it. I will enclose the translation with it in this letter.

"I have yet an hour's work to put all that I have written to you in three long letters into their proper packages with their enclosures,

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* That these hopes were doomed to disappointment may be seen from the opening sentences of one of the letters in Gleig, dated December 26th, 1784, Calcutta—"I have received your letter of 3rd August informing me of your safe arrival in England. I received it on my return from the play. I could not go to bed, but sat reading it till past two, and afterwards lay long after counting three without being able to close my eyes. Whether I was happy or unhappy in reading it I cannot tell you. I fear my disappointment on one subject equalled my joy for your safety—the close of your perils and the promise that you would soon be as well as you ever had been at any period of your life. I have since thought only on the good; and I thank God for it."

† Captain Jonathan Scott.

which are many. This will only enclose the two letters from the Prince and Munny Begum, with a little one from Capt. Scott accompanying them. I could not refuse him, and what he writes is, I am sure, the tribute of a good heart."

Calcutta, December 29th, 1784.

(In this letter, the last of this series in the British Museum collection, he writes his determination to sail for England in the *Berrington* in the following month).

"Mr. Pitt's bill,* and the injurious reflections which he has cast upon me, are the grounds of this resolution; not as they excite my resentment, for I have not suffered a thought of myself to influence me, but as they are certain indications of his acquiescence in my return according to the terms which I have constantly stated as those which should determine it. One obstacle yet remains, and that I shall immediately put to the trial. You know the promise which I have made to the Nabob Vizier. That I must fulfil, and you will probably know the result before you receive this. I have said nothing to Scott about Mr. Pitt's bill, because I should hurt his feelings, and I know that he was not aware of its malignity; yet I must say to you, but to you only, that his support of it astonishes me, for an act more injurious to his fellow-servants, to my character and authority, to the Company, to the proprietors especially who alone have a right to my services on the principle of gratitude, and to the national honour, could not have been devised, though fifty Burkes, Foxes, and Francises had clubbed to invent one. I am well, but keep myself so by attention which would be misery to another. But what care I for society. My days pass in incessant writing, reading, hearing, and talking, and even close with weariness and little headaches which sometimes grow to great ones. If I am doomed to remain another year, and survive it, I must carry witnesses of my identity, or return like Ulysses an old man and beggar to $\frac{my}{his}$ (*sic*) Penelope, and with only one scar, which can not be seen, to convince you that I am your husband. Don't practise Mrs. Blair's advice to Mr. Cooke upon me.

"Adieu my most beloved,

W. H."

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* Pitt's India Bill became law on 13th August, 1784. Its object was to deprive the East India Company of political power, which was thereby vested in a new ministerial department called the Board of Control. The double Government system, the foundation of which it laid, continued down to 1st November, 1858.

SPECIMENS OF LETTERS WRITTEN BY MRS. HASTINGS.

THOSE who may have now read so many letters written to Mrs. Hastings, may perhaps be curious to see what sort of letters were written by her. Widely scattered through the Hastings and the Impey manuscripts in the British Museum are several of Mrs. Hastings' letters; very few of these were written in India, or to her husband. Those subjoined seem to be worth reproducing either as touching on matters of interest, or as being fairly illustrative of her style. One of them is thus indorsed by Mr. Impey: "Though a German she wrote and spoke English correctly and elegantly—though with a foreign accent." Several of her letters suggest that she had more individuality and strength of mind, than one might be inclined to infer from the letters addressed to her by her husband-lover. Readers must draw their own conclusions as to the indication of character suggested by the first of the few letters which follow. I have come across no earlier letter from Mrs. Hastings.

This was written to the Chief Justice at Calcutta when Mr. and Mrs. Hastings were at Patna on their way down to the Presidency. It is long, and I have omitted some passages here and there which were devoid of interest. Readers will not fail to remember Macaulay's burning words in connection with the surroundings of the incident referred to by Mrs. Hastings.

From Mrs. Hastings to Sir Elijah Impey.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am flattered by the anxiety which you express concerning my health. I have the satisfaction to tell that I am better, but I mend—piano, piano. I doubt not it will give you pleasure that we are so far on our way to Calcutta; we were at Buxar on the 14th. . . . . You are become very wicked since you left us, I laught (*sic*) very heartily about the leg, but admire the *goodness* of the lady, the *true spirit* of *religion* works in her.

"I have heard from Mr. Middleton, but not to my satisfaction; it was as much as I can recollect of it to the folowing (*sic*) purpose:—

'The Nabob had intended to send you a present of horses, elephants, palanqueens, &c., &c., but I told him that they would be of no use to you, that he had better send something which you might be able to wear, to which he agreed; but as he had then nothing by him that was worth your acceptance he requested you to please yourself at Benares, and that he would pay for it; the sum which he alowed (*sic*) was one lakh of rupees;' but I rejected it, as it appeared mean to me to accept a present in that mercenary form.

"I daresay you know that Mr. Middleton and His Excellency (*she means the Nawab Vizier*) had left Lucknow on the 2nd of this month to go to Fayzabad and quell the diabolical spirits of the old Begum and the Bhow Begum, which was accomplished on the 13th. The Nabob's party were put in possession of the Kella without effusion of blood. The two eunuchs, Baber and Jawar Ally Cawn, delivering themselves into the Nabob's custody. Had His Excellency's troops come only the enemy were resolved to attack him; they were between three and four thousand well-armed, and furnished with a large store of ammunition.

"I hope that this late step will settle matters to the satisfaction of Mr. Hastings and advantage to the Company."

Then the letter proceeds to inquiries after her god-child—dear Marian—and ends—

"Mr. Hasting desires me to give his best compliments to you and Lady Impey, and I request that you will believe

"Me your sincere humble servant,

"*January 20th*, 1782." "M. HASTINGS.*

(To the same—written about March or April, 1783.)

"MY DEAR SIR,—I flatter myself that Lady Impey is perfectly recovered, but I am not easy yet till I hear it from yourself; so pray

* It would be instructive to know what sympathy the writer of this letter obtained from her correspondent, touching the want of "satisfaction" in the communication from the Lucknow Resident. The predatory instincts which are historically attributed to Elijah Impey must have received a severe shock, on learning the scruples which Mrs. Hastings so naively explains actuated her when she "rejected" the Nabob's "present." When the wife of the Governor-General penned these lines, little did she foresee what a noise the "late step," which she so artlessly hoped would "settle matters," was destined to make in the world. Little did she dream when writing complacently of the move to "quell the diabolical spirits of the old Begums," that before seven years went by, fifty guineas would be paid for a single seat in Westminster Hall to hear a British statesman—the most brilliant and effective Parliamentary orator of that or of any later time—giving *his* version of that expedition to Fyzabad while denouncing the "oppression, rapacity and perfidy" employed against the plundered Princesses of Oude. Sheridan described the alleged rebellion in Oude as "plotted by two feeble old women, headed by two eunuchs and suppressed by an affidavit."

inform me by a line, and tell me if I may come to see her. My affectionate compliments attend her. How do you bear this hot weather? and how dose (*sic*) it agree with your sweet children?

"I am, my dear Sir Elija (*sic*),

"Your sincere humble servant,

"M. HASTINGS."

"*Allypoor*, Monday morning."

In March, 1797, Hastings, writing from Daylesford to Richard Johnson, Esq., at Stratford Bank, Stratford Place, London, on business matters, says:—

"I have written to Lord Roseberry requesting that he will be pleased to pay, or caused to be paid, to Messrs. Edwards, Templer and Co. the remaining sums when they shall become due for the price of my late house in Park Lane."

On the same day Mrs. Hastings also writes to this gentleman, and thanks him "for all the trouble you have taken about my house in Park Lane," and is glad to learn "that all the money matters regarding it are amicably settled," and then goes on,—

"What trouble his Lordship has given us! By the Lord! I would not sell an other (*sic*) house to him if I had one to dispose of, and he wish to be the purchaser.

"You are good in thinking of my son Charles, and I am sure he would feel himself obliged was he to know what a warm advocate he has in you; yet in the present instance you are wrong, Charles has not given up £10,000, as you state it, nor has he lost anything by his late arrangement, as my gift to him was £30,000 including the £10,000 for his wife's settlement.

"But some months ago I promised my Charles that I would make up another £10,000 for him, and in consequence of that promise I gave him £4000 in India stocks, and told him that when I had disposed of my house that I would make up the sum which I had promised him. I request you to carry the £2,000 which Mr. Walford owes me to Charles accounts (*sic*), and when Lord Roseberry makes his first payment to me to take £4,000 for my son, which will make up the sum of £10,000; that is £4,000 in the stocks, £2,000 from Mr. W., and £4,000 from the sail (*sic*) of my house in town. Then he will be master of £40,000, which will bring him in yearly £2,000. This sum will enable him to *live very comfortable* with his beloved Charlotte, and my mind will be easy respecting my beloved children. Whatever my fate may be let me see my children happy and comfortable. The deposit

money I request you to keep for my use or rather for my beloved Hastings!* as he may want cash. Has the bond been paid by Mr. Townsend's executors? How much has Mr. Hastings overdrawn at your bank? Pray let me know a little about it. My enquiry (you know) does not proceed from curiosity, but from a wish to save my dear husband anxiety of mind.

"I am, my Dear Sir,
"Yours sincerely,
"M. HASTINGS."

"*Daylesford, April 3rd*, 1797.

"To Richard Johnson, Esq.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I request you will have the goodness to send the enclosed letter to the post. Have you received an answer from Stuttgard that the £200† have been received; I have not. You will be so good to place £1000 of the deposit money, which will be paid on the 9th of this month by Lord Roseberry, to Mr. H's account and the remainder to mine. Walford's answer to Mr. H. was such as I had expected, 'that he could not pay at present, that he had an account to settle with the Governor of nine years' standing;' little of course will come of the £2000 to dear good Mr. Hastings; what a grievous thing it is that my husband will not settle all his affairs! how easy would his mind be if he was to know *exactly what he owes, and what was due to him*. I entreat him often'd (*sic*) on this subject, and pray him to settle his affairs, he promises, but does not like to look into the state of his affairs. This negligence may arise from knowing that he cannot extricate himself from his troubles. How cruel it is that a man who has served his country so long and so faithfully should at last be obliged to harrass his days and nights with the gloomy thoughts—how he is to live! Indeed it is a shame on the Court of Directors to let such an old servant as he is bestow a thought how he is to live. I do firmly believe that if it was requested of them that they would relinquish the £50,000 and let him have the pension, £4000 annually. How comfortably could we then live! If there should be a change of ministers I think it will be done. Pray are you acquainted with

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* The note of exclamation is so placed in the original.

† This money was for her mother, whose address is thus written in a clerkly hand on the back of the original of this letter, viz.,

A Madame Madame,
Baroness de Chapusetin,
Veuve de Baron Chapuset,
Née St. Valentin,
à Stutgard.

D. Scott, the present Chairman? I think he is an excellent channel to canvas, besides he is a good man, and *feels*, I am sure, for the Governor.

"Adieu, my Dear Sir,
"Believe me, yours sincerely,
'MARIAN HASTINGS. *

(Mrs. Hastings had gone to London to see her daughter-in-law, while Colonel Imhoff was with Hastings at Daylesford).

"*March 19th*, 1804.

"I am grieved to hear, my beloved husband, that you have still a cold, and that your deafness is worse. What heart-breaking intelligence to your poor Marian. I will hope that this will find you still at Daylesford, though you tell me in your letter of yesterday that you purpose leaving Daylesford to-morrow. I would advise you, my love, not to risk your valuable person to a visit at General G., as it will again expose you to a change of bed, which I think is exceedingly dangerous with a cold upon you. I would advise you to leave Daylesford on Wednesday very early, and be in Portugal Street at night, where you will meet with a most affectionate welcome, and be sure of a well-aired bed and a good fire.

"My cold is better to Day (*sic*), though I *feasted* at dinner at Mrs. Grindall with dear Charlotte. I shall not go out to-night. I think it will be best to sell the fat cow; you will get good price for it, and if we want any part of her we can have it.

"I am truly concerned to hear that my beloved Charles' cough still continues to torment him; I had flattered myself that the fine pure air would cure his cough, and make you quite stout; pray give my love to the dear Coll. (*sic*).

"Sir Isaac Heart (?) just called with the accounts that Lord Keith had sent the accounts of B.'s arrival at Boulong with a great force. Well, our Government is much alarmed at this intelligence. The weather does not seem favourable for the invasion; it rained all day yesterday, and to-day it snows and wets and is a most gloomy day. I prayed for you and dear Charles at church yesterday. Adieu, my

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* In another letter about this time to the same gentleman, Mrs. Hastings gives this specimen of her practical turn of mind when referring to a box, the question of whose safety had given her some temporary anxiety. "Give me leave, my good sir, to say that your clerks are not sufficiently attentive to this branch of their duty." And she then proceeds to detail in a business-like way, what steps they should have taken to secure the due custody and recognition of a box given in charge to the Bank.

best and dearest husband; may the Almighty restore you to health, and give you all you desire and deserve.

"Ever your affectionate wife,
"M. H."

P.S.—Warren Hastings' life was prolonged far beyond his own expectations, viz., to the age of eighty-six (nearly). Ten years before his death he wrote to his stepson, Imhoff, "If my life can be of benefit to those whose affections, and mine for them, attach me to it, I think I can securely reckon upon the chances of its holding out one year more at least, after the proof which my perfect recovery in so few days from a disorder which if not dangerous was attended during some hours with as much pain as I can remember to have ever suffered.

"I am sure it was the same disorder that your dear mother endured on the first night of our visit to Stoneleigh Abbey, and I think I understand it so scientifically, that if your dear lady wishes to catch it, for an experiment, I can (but the Devil take me if I do) put her in the same way of obtaining it in a given time."

Hastings died on August 22nd, 1820. Almost his last act was to dictate a letter to the Court of Directors asking their consideration for his wife when deprived of his income. Amongst the British Museum MSS. is a long letter from Mrs. Hastings to her godson, Sir. C. D'Oyley, in India, expressing her gratitude and joy on hearing that at a public meeting in Calcutta its inhabitants had voted a statue* to be

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* The statue alluded to is that now in the Town Hall, Calcutta. Warren Hasting is perhaps the solitary instance of a European whose life having been devoted to India, could not, with reference to his countrymen in the East, say with David: "I am forgotten as a dead man out of mind. I am like a broken vessel." The active and enduring love and veneration of Calcutta for his name and memory, are wonderful for the singular rarity of such a manifestation.

I find an old Calcutta newspaper thus bringing before its readers an honourable tribute which gratitude and respect had unostentatiously paid to him, long after any material recognition of it was possible on his part. "One very curious anecdote is through this letter (*i.e*, that of Hastings to the Court of Directors which had been quoted from) for the first time disclosed to the public. It appears that pending Mr. Hastings' trial a subscription was actually made in India to enable him to pay the expenses, and in fact seventeen gentlemen subscribed and paid the sum of £1000 each. On this subject Mr. Hastings thus expresses himself:—'I am indebted for these remittances to the generosity of individuals; they were granted for the express purpose of relieving my wants. They were received in the years 1790, 1791, most seasonably, at times in which, but for them, I should have been reduced to great distress. I do not mention this as an excuse for my accepting them, I mention it only to show that while I was an object of envy to some and of jealousy to others, under the imputation of possessing inordinate wealth, and when in addition to the charge of extravagance I was publicly accused of the most corrupt disposal of it, I was actually on the verge of penury, and of wanting the means of acquiring the common necessaries of life

erected, as she says, "to the memory of that great and blessed spirit. Mrs. Hastings survived her husband for nineteen years. Mr. E. V. Westmacott, of the Bengal Civil Service, was kind enough to obtain for me from the present incumbent of Daylesford Rectory the inscription which is on the tablet to her memory in the church. In this she is described as Anna Maria Apollonia, Relict of the Right Honourable Warren Hastings, born February 11th, 1747. Died March 29th, 1837. The Rev. A. Grisswood adds that she was always called Madame Hastings.

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but in the degrading resource of private credit to which I have since been actually compelled to submit.'"

As his long trial slowly advanced the details were periodically summarised in the Calcutta papers. In one I came across an "Epigram by a Distinguished Character under Persecution," which possibly was connected with the phrase, "that reptile, Mr. Burke," made use of by Hastings' friend and agent, Major Scott.

"I oft' have wondered why on Irish ground
No poisonous reptile ever yet was found,
Nor thought that Nature, heedful of her work,
Reserved her venom to produce a Burke."

When the news of the acquittal reached India a public meeting of the European inhabitants of Calcutta was convened (September, 1795), and a congratulatory address was voted to Hastings.

CHAPTER X.

AN OLD CALCUTTA GRAVE.

I HAD some intention of letting this book end with a chapter under the heading of "Calcutta under ground," or some similar title. In it I proposed to invite the reader to accompany me in a hasty ramble through the cemeteries longest in existence, and while pointing out a grave here and there, to briefly tell what little I may have picked up regarding its tenant, and to recall what claim he or she may have had to be remembered in such a retrospect. It occurred to me, too, that such an excursion would give an opportunity of urging the reasons why some of the tombs at least should be saved from the ruin, to which so many have gone, and all are hastening.

But so much space has been given to those who lived in Calcutta in the last century, that none is left for those who died and were there buried. My sepulchral gossip, therefore, must be suppressed. Perhaps it is as well. I fear it must be recognized that English people, either at home or abroad, are animated by no strong sentiment regarding what may be called the sacred relics of the past. If they were, there would scarcely be room for a Society which is at work even in England at this moment, having for its object the preservation of the memorials of the dead in the churches and churchyards of Great Britain.* This Society has a heavy task in trying to secure the sympathy and support of a mere fraction of an apathetic public. Its proceedings show that the almost incredible neglect and desecration of such memorials, even countenanced by parochial authorities, are as much in operation to-day as they were some centuries earlier. The up-hill work which it has set its kindly hand to, may be judged of from a single

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* For some account of its object and labours see a capital article in the *Nineteenth Century* (August, 1887), by C. M. Gaskell, M.P.

instance. At a certain English vicarage a late incumbent paved his coach-house with tombstones from the church-yard, and replied, when remonstrated with, that "the families had gone from the parish, or had died out!" Well, if these things are done in a green tree, what surprise need be expressed at the passive neglect which meets one at every step through the Christian cemeteries of Calcutta; neglect which finds its cause and excuse in this reverend person's logic—the families have gone from the parish.

Even putting aside the financial difficulty which circumstances in India render very formidable, it must be sorrowfully confessed that the obstacle confronts one on the threshold, of the hopelessness of arousing the necessary amount of general sympathy for doing anything towards rescuing for identification, even the tombstones of those who died in exile, in a country where the European from his very arrival, looks and pines for the day when he may be favoured enough and fortunate enough to be able to leave it again, and then —let the dead bury their dead—and look after their own monuments too.

In fact it comes to this, that, unless in the case of direct kindred not very remote, the memorials of the dead of a previous generation have but little chance of being looked after by those succeeding, if some national title to preservation, or circumstances amounting to such, cannot be set up. This can be done for many tombs in Calcutta. Its very oldest cemetery offers several claimants, so many testimonies to the price that England has always paid for her footing in India. Let me instance the tomb of Admiral Watson, whose services and achievements were gratefully recognized by the monument to him in Westminster Abbey. He, with Clive, was the refounder of the city of which Job Charnock, who lies near him, was the founder. When the ground was being prepared for the building of St. John's Cathedral, amongst the very few old graves that were spared, but which now receive no due conserving care, were those of the Admiral and of the little shipmate for whom he sorrowed, Billy Speke, the midshipman of the *Kent*, who got his death wound at the capture of Chandernagore in the struggle for the re-establishing of British power in Bengal.

I hope that someone with local influence will plead for the preservation of this heroic young sailor's tomb, before the ominous words "too late" have to be recorded, and will recall for modern Calcutta his sad and tender story as told by the good surgeon, Dr. Ives, who attended him. He was a brave man's son, and his death is a striking instance of the truth of an observation made by Sir

W. Hunter in writing of the Calcutta cemeteries,* and noting the high proportion of the graves of the young, that to the early fathers of Calcutta the curse on the re-builder of Jericho came bitterly home, "He shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his younger son shall he set up the gates of it."

From amongst the many graves that I had marked for prospective notice, I shall, however, here bring forward one. I make an exception in this one's favour, partly because its claim to kindly recognition seems to me to be little short of national, and partly because it has found no other advocate. The tomb for which I crave consideration, is not that of a first-born or of a younger son, but of a younger daughter. One who though, I believe, sprung from kings shows a far higher title to the tender enshrining of her memory, and to all possible manifestations of respect for it, on the part of English people, inasmuch as she inspired some of the most exquisite poetry in our language.

In South Park Street Cemetery there is a monument over a grave which bears this inscription on a black marble slab :—

"In Memory of

The Honourable

Rose Whitworth Aylmer,

who departed this life March 2nd, A.D. 1800

Aged 20 years.

What was her fate? Long, long before her hour
Death called her tender soul by break of bliss,
From the first blossoms to the buds of joy,
Those few our noxious fate unblasted leaves
In this inclement clime of human life."

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* I refer to an excellent contribution to the *Calcutta Englishman* a couple of years ago "On some Calcutta graves." The tomb of Thackeray's father (in North Park Street ground) and the long connection of his family with India were specially discoursed on. I find that I have mentioned the name of the writer of those most interesting articles, which appeared anonymously; but indeed the charm of appropriate and graceful language with which he enriched his subject had already disclosed the authorship.

It may not be superfluous to recall for some in the present generation, the circumstances which associate this old Calcutta tomb with the name of a man who "is among the most striking figures in the history of English literature, striking alike by his character and his powers;"* a great master in verse; a prose writer of the highest rank—Walter Savage Landor. Not long after leaving Oxford (1797) when about twenty-one years of age, Landor was staying at a then secluded spot on the Welsh coast, where he met and was on friendly terms with Lord Aylmer's family. One of the young ladies of this family became his especial favorite. Miss Aylmer was at this time some four years younger than Landor, and they seem to have been thrown much together, in the excursions and similar amusements which their quiet life afforded opportunity for. The tender and lasting impression which his young friend made on Landor, is seen in the sad and gentle allusions to her in some of his poetry written many years after the time to which it refers. Thus one little poem which relates to his young companion of old days, and to two of her mother's later descendants, entitled "The Three Roses," begins :—

"When the buds began to burst
Long ago with Rose the first,
I was walking, joyous then,
Far above all other men;
Till before us up there stood
Britonferry's oaken wood,
Whispering, 'happy as thou art,
Happiness and thou must part,'" &c.

In another called "Abertawy" (the old name for Swansea), he lovingly goes back to one of their rambles on the seashore, and tells, how to provide a seat for the weary maid and himself, he had to pluck up from a moss-grown bank some "tiniest thorniest" rose bushes.

"At last I did it—eight or ten—
We both were snugly seated then;
But then she saw a half-round bead,
And cried—'Good gracious! how you bleed
Gently she wiped it off, and bound
With timorous touch that dreadful wound.

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* See "Landor" by Professor Sidney Colvin (1884). The few circumstances recalled in the text are taken from this gentleman's writings about Landor, and from Forster's biography.

To lift it from its nurse's knee
I feared, and quite as much feared she,
For might it not increase the pain,
And make the wound burst out again?
She coax'd it to lie quiet there,
With a low tune I bent to hear;
How close I bent I quite forget,
I only know I hear it yet."

It is curious to note that Landor's introduction to fame was indirectly or accidentally associated with Miss Aylmer. She happened to lend him a book from the Swansea circulating library, a poor romance by one Clara Reeve. At the end of this he found the sketch of a so-called Arabian tale, which arrested his fancy and led to his constructing his first important work "Gebir." This, we are told, was the delight of Southey and afterwards of Shelley. The former reviewed it, and wrote to a friend, "I would go a hundred miles to see the anonymous author": to another he wrote, "There is a poem called 'Gebir,' written by God knows who, sold for a shilling; it has miraculous beauties."*

Lady Aylmer, the widow of Henry, the fourth baron, married secondly Mr. Howell Price. Possibly it was in consequence of this re-marriage that her daughter Rose went to Calcutta to her Aunt, Lady Russell, wife of Sir Henry Russell, then one of the puisne judges, who was afterwards made Chief Justice, and eventually a baronet. He and Lord Aylmer had married sisters, the daughters of Sir Chas. Whitworth, and sisters of the Earl of Whitworth. An expression in one of the "gravely tender" lines from the poem "Abertawy" already referred to, seems to indicate that Miss Aylmer's going to India was not her own choice:—

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* Landor's biographer allows that 'Gebir' is unknown to the present reading generation. The poem illustrates the manner in which the genius of Landor affected his contemporaries, not by influencing the many, but by exercising mastery over the few who ultimately rule the many.

Perhaps the only quotation ever heard from it now is from the sea nymph's description of the "sinuous shells of pearly hue," the concluding lines of which are:—

"Shake one, and it awakens; then apply
Its polish'd lips to your attentive ear,
And it remembers its august abodes,
And murmurs as the ocean murmurs there."

Z.

"Where is she now? Called far away,
By one she dared not disobey,
To those proud halls, for youth unfit,
Where Princes stand and Judges sit.
Where Ganges rolls his widest wave
She dropped her blossom in the grave;
Her noble name she never changed
Nor was her nobler heart estranged."

The *Calcutta Gazette* in the first week of March, 1800, thus records the sad event here referred to: "On Sunday last at the house of her uncle, Sir Henry Russell, in the bloom of youth and possession of every accomplishment that could gladden or embellish life, deplored by her relatives and regretted by a society of which she was the brightest ornament, the Honble. Miss Alymer."

When the news of her death reached Landor, his thoughts, we are told, were "for days and nights entirely possessed" by it. "During his vigils," says Professor Colvin, "he wrote the first draft of the little elegy, 'carved as it were in ivory or in gems,' which in its later form became famous."

"Ah, what avails the sceptered race?
Ah, what the form divine?
What every virtue, every grace?
Rose Aylmer, all were thine.
Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep, but never see,
A night of memories and of sighs
I consecrate to thee."

"Just, natural, simple, severely and at the same time hauntingly melodious," these, adds Professor Colvin, "are the lines which made afterwards so deep an impression upon Charles Lamb." "Many things I had to say to you, which there was not time for," wrote the latter to Landor. "*One*, why should I forget? 'Tis for Rose Aylmer, which has a charm I cannot explain. I lived upon it for weeks." "I have just seen Charles and Mary Lamb living in absolute solitude at Enfield. I found your poems lying open before Lamb. . . He is ever muttering Rose Aylmer"—is the testimony of Crabbe Robinson.

It is noteworthy that the effect obtained by the iteration of the young girl's two beautiful names at the beginning of the fourth and fifth lines is an afterthought.

All who read the little elegy to-day will, I think, realize its indefinable charm, and agree with Mr. Forster that "its deep and

tender pathos could hardly be surpassed; in delicacy and sweetness of expression it is perfect."

There is an incident touching the close of Landor's life told by his biographer, which, as it is gratifying to read, I add here, though it has no immediate connexion with the present subject.

He died in his eighty-ninth year in Florence, and his remains were laid in the English burying ground there.

One of the last letters that he received in Italy was from his old friend Lord Houghton (better known as Monckton Milnes); it introduced to him a young English poet, who has recorded that he came "the youngest to the oldest singer that England bore," prompted by the sole desire to see him and to bear to him the gratitude and thankfulness of many others of his countrymen who might never hope to see him. "It was but natural that this should give pleasure to the old man, in the sense of fame it brought so closely home to him." And when he passed away in that same year (1864), he who had visited him so lately—this Algernon Swinburne—paid worthy homage to his memory in a little poem, the concluding stanzas of which may perhaps be quoted in a page, the aim of which is to lead to the preservation in another city of a tomb so intimately associated with Landor's name, and around which so many interesting memories cluster:*

"And thou, his Florence, to thy trust
Receive and keep,
Keep safe his dedicated dust
His sacred sleep.
So shall thy lovers, come from far,
Mix with thy name,
As morning-star with evening-star
His faultless fame."

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* Rose Aylmer's tomb, though conspicuously situated, may be easily passed without recognition, owing to the lettering, particularly of the name, on the tablet having become faint. It stands at the edge of the central main walk, on the left hand side, at the south corner of the second pathway leading eastward.

The monument over the grave is in the shape of a round tapering column, with spiral fluting on it, rising from a broad shelving base.

When the writer saw it last (1886) it was in a better state of preservation than could have been reasonably hoped for, but still most of the agencies so fatal in an Indian graveyard were getting into vigorous and destructive operation: the stitch in time was urgently needed.

APPENDIX.

A.

(Holwell's) "List of the smothered in the Black Hole prison (exclusive of sixty-nine, consisting of Dutch and English sergeants, corporals, soldiers, topazes, militia, whites, and Portuguese, whose names I am unacquainted with), making on the whole one hundred and twenty-three persons."*

Of Council—E. Eyre, Wm. Baillie, Esqrs., the Rev. Jervas Bellamy.

Gentlemen in the Service—Messrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Coales, Valicourt, Jeb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Bing, Dod, Dalrymple.

Military Captains—Clayton, Buchanan, Witherington.

Lieutenants—Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simson, Bellamy.

Ensigns—Paccard, Scot, Hastings, C. Wedderburn, Dumbleton.

Sergeants, &c.—Sergeant-Major Abraham, Quartermaster Cartwright, Sergeant Bleau (these were sergeants of militia).

Sea Captains—Hunt, Osburne, Purnell (survived the night, but died next day), Messrs. Carey, Stephenson, Guy, Porter, W. Parker, Caulker, Bendall, Atkinson, Leech, &c., &c.

List of those who survived—Messrs. Holwell, Court, Secretary Cooke, Lushington, Burdett, Ensign Walcott, Mrs. Carey, Captain Mills, Captain Dickson, Mr. Moran, John Meadows and twelve military and militia, blacks and whites, some of whom recovered when the door was opened."

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* It is clear that a considerable number of those in the prison were natives of India. As he could only name fifty-two of the deaths, the unnamed should be put down at seventy-one instead of sixty-nine, to make up the full number. It must have been by an oversight on the part of the sculptor, that four of the names which Holwell prints in his list were omitted on the monument, viz., three sergeants of militia, named Abraham, Cartwright, Bleau, and one of the "gentlemen in the Service," whose name Holwell gives as Bing, spelled with an "*i*", instead of "*y*"; Robert Byng was intended. These four names should be added if a duplicate of the tablet be ever set up in Calcutta as suggested in the text.

B.

The Argument from Handwriting as regards Francis being Junius.

It must not be forgotten that the unassailable evidence in connection with this, is the fact of the actual undisguised handwriting of Francis being found on an original proof-sheet of one of the Junian letters.

The so-called proofs of identity deduced from the comparison between the natural and (alleged) feigned writing of any individual, are deservedly received with caution, even though supported by the most ingenious expert. But in this instance the proof rests on firm ground, which is not as well known, perhaps, as it might be.

When the proof-sheets of each letter were sent to Junius he was in the habit, after he had corrected them, of writing the date of return to the printer on the top. When examining the original proof-sheets, now at the British Museum, M. Chabot noticed that on several of them there was about the same spot a blotted obliteration, over which was written the date. On looking closely with the necessary physical aids for the purpose, he found that "*the obliterations conceal precisely the same words and figures as those which now stand in their places and which are made to appear as corrections of the obliterated writing.*" This is the case in eight instances; in three others there is no substantial correction. Every instance of these (in one sense) unnecessary obliterations discloses, when penetrated, "the natural hand of Philip Francis without a moment's hesitation to those who are acquainted with his writing." Can it be doubted that what happened was this: when Francis had corrected the printed proofs in the Junian hand, he mechanically, inadvertently, dated them in his natural hand; but, discovering this before letting them go, he obliterated it and put in the same date in his disguised hand? But if the matter rested there, overwhelming as the presumption is which these facts raise, it might be said that, after all, the skilful penetration of those obliterations was the work of an expert, and was still open to dispute. But one of the proof-sheets bears on it no obliteration, but the date in the usual place, the word and figures of which, "29 July, 1769," are in the unmistakable beautiful handwriting of Philip Francis. The letter is corrected in the Junian

hand, but the crafty man, for once in his life, had forgotten his cunning, and wrote the date in the undisguised hand as usual, but let it go without seeing and concealing his mistake. Here there is no necessity for an expert—no room for guessing; there are two letters of Francis's written in the same month, dated 5th and 30th July, 1769; any child could see that the same hand wrote the three dates. This convicting letter may still be seen in original proof at the British Museum; it is No. 16, addressed to Blackstone, the Solicitor-General.

M. Chabot might have spared himself the elaboration of all his other prodigiously strong evidence. One instance of the kind just dwelt on, is as good as a thousand; since it was produced, no critic that I know of has had the hardihood to argue that Francis did not hand-write the Junian letters.

C

Amongst the minor charges brought against Elijah Impey by Mr. Beveridge is that of "coarse and indecorous manner," "brutality," which "was too much even for Price," &c. Had either he or Macaulay seen the following they would probably have been more disposed than ever to quote the "*qualis ab incepto*" maxim.

Extract from the *Calcutta Chronicle*, 1792, which professes to have copied it from the *Morning Chronicle* (London) of November 23, 1791:—

"THE KING *v.* SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.

"This was an indictment on the prosecution of Mrs. Howlett against Sir Elijah Impey for a common assault. The prosecutor deposed that she had lived in the character of lady's-maid in the family of Sir Elijah for about fourteen months; that on the morning of the day when this affair happened she had been raised from that situation to the office of housekeeper, and had already taken possession of the room appropriated to her new office. While she was busied in adjusting her hair, Master Elijah (a lively little son of the defendant's, being sent by his mother to Mrs. Howlett for some shoe-string) came into the room and in a very impertinent manner made mouths at her, crying 'Neagh-neagh-neagh!' between his teeth, and after such rudeness rubbed an orange which he had in his hand against her face,

and spurted the kernels of it into her eye, upon which she gave him a knock on the head, and sent him crying to his mamma; that Sir Elijah, Lady Impey, Miss Impey, and Captain West came immediately into the room, and after some altercation Sir Elijah laid hold of her wrists and shook her in a very violent manner, and then squeezed and pinched her arm in such a manner that the flesh was black and blue for several days afterwards. On her cross-examination she acknowledged that she was the same person who had lived in the family of Colonel North, and it was insinuated that they had deprived themselves of her services in order to get rid of her noise. Captain West was called on the part of the defendant. He said he was at Sir Elijah Impey's on the day this happened, that when they went downstairs the prosecutrix talked very loud of the insults Master Elijah had offered to her, and on being told by Lady Impey that she ought to have complained against and not beat the boy, she replied that she was not afraid, and would beat him again, upon which Sir Elijah laid hold of her wrist to put her out of the room.

"Lord Kenyon stated to the jury that if this had been an action the defendant might have put a justification on the record, and therefore might give in evidence upon the present issue such circumstances as would be tantamount, and that he thought such justification had been completely proved. The jury, however, retired for about ten minutes, and on their return found Sir Elijah guilty; and, of course, unless his personal attendance is dispensed with, he must appear in Court next term to receive judgment."

I have quoted this storm in a tea-pot to exemplify that Francis had not reckoned without his host; he undertook to make Impey "as black as the devil," and he did so, "let the event" (of the impeachment) "be what it may." The verdict here, in the face of the strong expression of opinion from the judge, suggests that the jury saw only through the blinding and distorting mists of prejudice.

D.

The following letter from Erskine was preserved among Hastings' papers, who in his persecution must have highly valued the opinion of so celebrated a man about impeachments in general. The letter seems to have been written to Bishop Shipley; it bears no date, but must have been received about or soon after the com-

mencement of the Parliamentary proceedings against Hastings. It has never to my knowledge been printed:—

My dear Lord,

"It gives me great concern that my illness will not permit me to come to you on Friday, not only because I have always a great deal of pleasure in your company and conversation, and that of your family, but because I should have been very happy in an opportunity of being acquainted with so extraordinary a person as Mr. Hastings, for his enemies do not refuse to acknowledge that he possesses many great qualifications. Although he is prosecuted by a person whom I love and respect, and although his prosecution is likely to be supported by many of those whose principles are the most congenial to my own, yet I should have been happy in an opportunity of showing him, by my desire of being introduced to him, that an English lawyer does not conclude that a person is guilty of crimes because he is prosecuted for them, and that it is not the genius of this constitution to try men for their honours, liberties and properties in assemblies not competent in their very constitutions to the administration of private justice. . . . . .

"There is another principle now against Empeachment, which is that a man is, from the present state of society, subject to be ruined with the public and the very judges trying him *pendente lite*, which was not the case in former days. Now, the person who is the subject of a bill of Empeachment, which is or ought to be analogous to a bill of indictment, is treated with hourly calumny and invective before the Grand Jury who are to have the bill before them.

"Before the bill is found, the prosecutor, who is also one of the Grand Jury, prints the bill. It is sold in every shop, and is the conversation of the coffee houses. Parliament adjourns while things are in this shape, and if no new game is started it is the topic of the recess. Will any man, whose reason is not disordered, say that when Parliament reassembles it can try the object of all this proceeding upon any principle of English justice?

"Bound by no oaths, limited to no principles of judgment confined to no rules of evidence, and every man's mind made up on the subject. I know nothing of Mr. Hastings' guilt or innocence, but these considerations lead me to feel for him; and if I were to be a member of the House of Commons while his Empeachment was before the House I would never make so free with my conscience as to venture to be one of his judges. . . . . My face is now so inflamed and swelled that it becomes impossible for me to go out, and as I have no other nurse or attendant but Mrs. Erskine, she desires me to beg your Lordship to make her apologies to Mrs. and Miss Shipley.

"I ever am, my dear Lord,

"Your Lordship's much obedient and faithful, humble servant,

T. Erskine."

E.

Death of Naylor.

Sir Elijah Impey has come in for a deal of odium at the hands of historians and others in connexion with the death of Naylor. I think it is undeserved. So many hard things have been said about Impey, it is a gratification to have an opportunity of saying a good word for him now and then. North Naylor, a young Devonshire gentleman, was recommended to the patronage of the Chief Justice by his old circuit friend Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton). He was soon nominated to the office of "Honourable Company's attorney." He evidently looked to Impey as his patron, because there is a letter from the former to Dunning, in 1778, saying that Naylor had consulted him about getting married. "I knew nothing against the girl, and, therefore, could have no other objection but the imprudence of his marrying at all at present. Her name is Bertie; she is natural daughter of Lord Robert Bertie—neither handsome nor accomplished." They were married in September of the same year.

Naylor was concerned as attorney in what is historically known as "the Cossijura case," where Government and the Supreme Court had opposing views, and was committed to prison for some days by Impey for not answering questions as to the part he had taken in it. He was confined on the 2nd of March, and on the 5th, three days after, his wife died while he was in durance; he himself died in the following August.

Thornton, in his "History of India," reflected on Impey's judicial oppression in this committal for contempt. Mr. E. B. Impey, in his memoir of his father, instead of answering this charge on its merits, for which he had ample materials in the Chief Justice's papers, attempts to get rid of it by saying that Hyde must have been the judge who ordered the committal, as his father was away at Chittagong from July, 1778, to 15th of March, 1779 (which, by the way, he was not). He overlooks the fact that the imprisonment and deaths occurred in 1780.*

* One would like to be able to say everything in praise of Mr. Impey's honest and indignant attempt to defend his father's memory. *Impar congressus Achilli*, he pluckily undertook, at the age of sixty-six, to write for the first time in his life a ponderous book mainly devoted to controversy. Many a younger man as ill-adapted by antecedent pursuits might well have shrunk from the task. The above instances out of many show that he lacked the

Naylor appeared by counsel before the Supreme Court, and Francis, in his journal, records only half of what occurred, viz.:—

Mr. Lawrence: "I hope your Lordship does not mean that Mr. Naylor should answer *in vinculis.*"

Chief Justice: "Why not? Mr. Naylor will have more time to think of his conduct and prepare his answer."

Mr. Lawrence: "It is a bad place for contemplation."

But as the Parliamentary Blue-book on Touchet's petition shows, the dialogue went on further:—

Chief Justice: "It is your own fault. You might have enlarged the rule till next term had you chose it; the Court were desirous of proceeding with lenity, but you wish us to be severe. I can very well see the drift of your motion; it is obvious enough."

What Impey meant by these remarks to counsel is explained in the letter which he wrote at once to Dunning about his protégé, and which is amongst the Impey MSS. . . . . "Naylor is a widower; his wife died about four days ago. You will observe that the rules against him were enlarged several times last term. This I did partly on the consideration of the distress Naylor must have been in for the illness of his wife, though the advocate was pressing it on to make his punishment under the circumstances bring greater odium on the Court. I should have kept it off for the same consideration still longer till the event of the death or recovery of his wife, but he himself desired me to let it come on before Mr. Barwell left this country; for he was in hopes Mr. Barwell, who is much his friend, would get Mr. Hastings, whose promises he said neither he nor any other person could rely on, to indemnify him as far as he could from the consequences. He told me he did not pretend to purge himself of the contempt, that he knew the necessity of his being committed, that his only anxiety was lest he should suffer in your or my opinion for the part he had taken against the Court. He pleaded the loss of his office if he had done otherwise as his excuse."

Naylor himself never appears to have resented his committal, for when attacked by the illness of which he died, Impey again writing to Dunning about him says, "He is an excellent young man,

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necessary accuracy. His ill-arranged work never got the attention which some of the facts and arguments in it deserved. It is rare to meet anyone now-a days who has ever seen this attempted refutation of Macaulay; it is rarer still to meet any reader who has not got Macaulay's denunciation of Chief Justice Impey almost by heart.

and has given me since the scrape he got into most convincing proofs of his attachment to me. I see him myself every morning, and Fraser goes to him every evening; no man can be taken more care of."

F.

"The Intrigues of a Nabob" (page 146).

Whoever has occasion to get a comprehensive view of the picture gallery of morals and manners of Old Calcutta, to see its society in its shadows as well as in its lights, cannot afford to ignore some unwholesome cotemporary literature. A volume entitled as above made no little noise in Calcutta at one time, as it arraigned one who had quite recently been a very prominent member of the community, for "friendship violated and the sacred laws of hospitality disregarded," and for several other crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Barwell was the alleged culprit. The book was dedicated to the Honourable Court of Directors, and the story which it purported to tell was more or less typical of that, which was vaguely believed in England about many, if not most, Anglo-Indian "nabobs." An outline of it may therefore be given, especially as it introduces two or three names which we have already met in better company. The subject warns us that the contents must be very lightly skimmed for readers, of an age a hundred years later than the publication.

The author was a Mr. Henry F. Thompson, who apparently held an appointment in the marine service of the East India Company. This gentleman, on returning to England from a voyage to the East, met in low society, and became enamoured of, a young person named Sarah Bonner, who, though at the time but sixteen years old, had already passed though some unfortunate vicissitudes which made the kindness and generosity that Thompson lavished upon her very acceptable. When the time came for the sailor's return to India, he discovered that he could not contemplate a long separation from one whom he had for some months protected; accordingly as a means of avoiding this, and of providing an answer to inconvenient questions, he informed his friends that he

had just married a wife, and then arranged that she and his own sister should be sent out together to Calcutta in a short time after him.

Of the sister no further mention is made.

When afterwards trying to account for his infatuation, Mr. Thompson describes his enslaver as one "whose charms were of the bewitching kind; they infused a soporiferous poison into the mind benumbed and stupefied the reasoning powers, and left her sole mistress of the head and heart of her lovers."

Thompson returned to Bengal armed with letters to Governor Verelst, Mr. Becher, and other influential officials; but all they could do for him was to get him appointed second officer of a ship then setting out on a voyage. When he got back to Calcutta from this voyage he found that the lady, who ever afterwards passed as "Mrs. Thompson" in Calcutta society, had arrived, and had been in Bengal since October, 1769. Thompson immediately proceeded to make his nominal wife as comfortable as he could, and provided her with a house, which was "genteely furnished, and soon honoured with the visits of persons of the first distinction of both sexes." Amongst the distinguished visitors was Mr. Richard Barwell, then holding an appointment in Calcutta. This benevolent man placed his suburban house at the disposal of the young couple, and shortly after obtained an appointment for Thompson, that of Deputy Paymaster at Berhampore, with 7000 rupees a year. To Berhampore, however, Mrs. Thompson declined to go, avowing a preference for Calcutta, coupled with Mr. Barwell's country house.

Thompson had not long taken up his appointment, when certain changes in the official world at Calcutta got Barwell himself sent to Mootigeal, seven miles from Berhampore. His patron soon proposed that the Deputy-Paymaster should live with him. The latter agreed, and professed himself "as happy as could be, wanting nothing but the society of the woman he held most dear." Possibly it was with the object of breaking up an association, which it was foreseen would lead to a grave public scandal, that Thompson soon found himself suddenly and peremptorily recalled to Calcutta In vain Barwell exerted his influence to get the order countermanded, but the Government were inexorable, and Thompson went to the Presidency to wait for other employment. In the meantime he resumed his tenancy of Barwell's garden-house. The first shock which his feelings received on his arrival at Calcutta, was from the coolness of the reception extended to him

by his fair ensnarer; the next from his discovering, after a little time, that she was often surreptitiously receiving letters from Mootigeal, sent under cover to a Mr. Cator, who was also occupying apartments in the garden-house. On contriving to see a little of this correspondence, the unwelcome fact became known to him that shortly after "Mrs. Thompson's" arrival in Calcutta, while awaiting the sailor's return from the voyage previously mentioned, "the sapper and miner was at work," as Sergeant Buzfuz puts it, Mr. Barwell had made her acquaintance, and had proceeded some lengths towards ingratiating himself. Any illusion he may have been under as to the disinterestedness of their patron's friendship, must have been cruelly dispelled, when he read that in Mr. Barwell's opinion, he (Thompson) was "a most uncouth semblance of humanity," "a downright man machine," whom the fair one was entreated to have no familiarities with of any kind. This was a point on which the absent admirer seemed to be nervously sensitive and exacting, for in one letter he expressed his apprehensions regarding the attentions of a Mr. Robert Sanderson, who "wishes to startle you or coax you to drop your connection with me, for the greater enjoyment his age and discretion are capable of affording you." Coquetry must have been an effective weapon in the armoury of this Delilah, as the following passage was one which met Thompson's prying eye:—"You do my affections great wrong, and your own beauties great injustice; look in your glass, it will convince you you have charms capable of warming old age; can a young man be indifferent to them? I have exerted all my endeavours to effect the wish of my heart, and have drawn upon myself, in the attempt to keep your husband here, all that malevolence could invent to prejudice me in the estimation of my friends." Unhappy Mr. Thompson was further doomed to find this somewhat rueful but candid sentiment: "I love you, I wish you was with me, and your husband at a distance." The writer of the book leaves it to be inferred that he considered from passages in the discovered correspondence (such as this, "No, my dear Madame, I will never ask any sacrifice to my peace that shall sink your name in the opinion of the world") it was not too late to save the woman, for whom he still retained affection, from taking any extreme step. He therefore said nothing of his discovery to Barwell, but told her that he would forgive everything if she would leave the country, and so withdraw herself from further temptation. To this she had all but consented, when the tide of events proved too strong for her. A sudden death in the upper

ranks of the Civil Service gave promotion to Barwell, and again brought him to Calcutta. This accident opened up a prospect which the enterprising young lady was only too ready to make the most of. Very soon matters between her and Mr. Barwell were in such train, that she felt in a position to tell her first benefactor that "his presence was eminently disagreeable," and to offer him, on the part of her new paramour, an annuity, if he would betake himself out of India. She further stimulated his acceptance of her terms by threatening, that in case of refusal, she would make known her true position, and thus free herself from restraint. Even the ordinary capacity of Thompson realized what this alleged threat conveyed, viz., that if it came to a question of cold-blooded purchase, much more might be squeezed out of Dives if he was allowed to remain under the impression that he was dealing with an injured *husband* instead of merely with a deserted lover. Thompson accordingly continued to dissemble; a bargain was struck, and a deed of trust was executed by Warren Hastings and Robert Sanderson, under which Barwell was to pay £5000 for the benefit of Sarah Thompson and her two children, and an annuity of £300 to Thompson, who was bound "not to molest or trouble Mr. Barwell on account of Mrs. Thompson." This occurred in March, 1772. It must not be forgotten that we have only got Thompson's side of this story.

To throw dust in the eyes of society it was next arranged that the ex-paymaster should go to China first, giving out that it was his intention to return to Calcutta. Eventually he made his way to Europe. He had not been there long when he received a letter from Mr. Barwell telling him that "it had become necessary to your own character, and the peace of your family, that you should make one more voyage to India, although you should immediately return to England with Mrs. Thompson and the little ones." In those days of slow voyages, much time must have elapsed before he again reached Calcutta in compliance with the above request. He arrived but to find that the frail one had sailed for England in the *Anson* in September, 1775. Public opinion he says had become too strong for Barwell; he had received official intimation that the scandal (intensified by the general impropriety of his companion) must no longer continue. Whether the very tolerant society of those days brought any pressure to bear on a member of Council, may perhaps be open to question. It is just as likely that for Barwell the tempting fruit had turned to ashes Indeed, we know from other sources that in this very year 1775 he was

proposing to himself to "purge and live cleanly as a nobleman should"—to sow his wild oats and marry. At all events Thompson was informed that there was nothing for him to do but to go back again. This he agreed to do on condition of a fund being established for the sure payment of his annuity. No steps were taken towards this till he was on board ship, when Barwell provided him with a letter of instructions to his brother in London, and got him "to sign a paper."

When after a tedious voyage he produced the "instructions" in London, he was told by Captain Barwell (also a sailor) that they gave him nothing whatever, and that the paper which he had signed before leaving India cancelled the deed formerly drawn. The latter part of the narrative is very obscure; the writer makes heavy drafts on the credulity of his readers regarding his own guileless and simple nature. The inference is perhaps legitimate that Barwell came to learn what the conspiring couple had concealed, and had availed himself of some proviso made in case of Thompson's failing to keep his side of the compact. In revenge Thompson told the story of his multitudinous sorrows for the edification of the British public. His book came out in 1780, the year in which his wronger left India. He gave it the alternative title of "Or Bengal, the Fittest Soil for Lust," and stuffed it full of letters said to have been written by Barwell during his brief madness to the charmer, who seems to have employed her "soporiferous poison" to some purpose, as the victim's letters and poetry testify to the truth of the observation, "amare et sapere vix deo conceditur."

There is a coincidence or two suggested by these letters, and by some dates which come out in the narrative, that are worth recalling. In one Barwell says, "I will write to Mr. Imhoff about the picture," an allusion which goes to show that Imhoff was at this time in the *bonâ fide* practice of his profession. The Imhoffs and Mrs. Thompson were old acquaintances, as they had been fellow voyagers to India in the *Duke of Grafton* in 1769, which ship it will be remembered also carried, on the same voyage, Warren Hastings and his fortunes. It was possibly, in consequence of this acquaintanceship, that Hastings became one of the executors of the deed of trust aforesaid, in a week or two after his taking over the governorship of Bengal. He must have had misgivings as to complications of a delicate nature, arising out of the presence of Mrs. Thompson in a community to which her fellow passenger, Marian Imhoff, had been already translated from Madras. Mr. Barwell's relations with Hastings' fellow signatory Sanderson, were

of a curiously complicated nature. He began by being jealous of this gentleman, then made him trustee in his mistress's behalf, and concluded by marrying his daughter.

G. (page 201).

In connection with Mr. Hicky's experience of "the law's delay," it is curious to see what a native cotemporary, the Mahommedan historian, has to say on the subject of the Supreme Court or Judicature. The following extract is from the "Syur ul Mutaquerin," translated by Mons. Raymond :—

"In inflicting punishment and retribution it is important to adhere to the modes in use in a country, and highly proper to pay a regard to the honour of every one, be he the meanest individual, for men easily submit and willingly acquiesce to whatever they find usual and established in their country; nor do they ever conceive fears and apprehensions on that head. But when they see any supplice unaccustomed, they think that everything is upside down, and that the world will soon be at an end. This is the idea which people have conceived of the actions and customs of the Supreme Royal Court. That tribunal has power over all the English from the highest to the lowest, but sits in judgment by seasons and stated times. A whole life is needful to attend their long, very long proceedings, and till a decision is given, there is no comprehending what is going on and what is likely to follow, nor what is the probable end of the business. On the first complaint lodged by any one, be it ascertained or not, the defendant is obliged to find security to double the amount of his demand, and if he cannot afford such a security the poor man must go to prison; and if he cannot find bail, or the complaint is not withdrawn or hushed down, he must remain in prison ten or twelve years together, whether he is guilty or not guilty. Add to these miseries, that to translate a petition in the English language, the translator exacts as many refreshers (or double guineas) as there are lines translated. And over and above all those evils and miseries so unworthily heaped over the heads of the poor Hindostanees, it is to be lamented that on the first summons of that Court to answer to a complaint, whether proved or not, whether real or frivolous, and even

to give evidence, a poor man must directly forsake his family and children, leave them in misery, want and distress, and run down for a whole month's journey to a spot where both air and water are bad. And if before his arrival the term of the Court be over, or its chief be gone out to some other country for a change of air, then the poor man must, without reason and without subsistence, endure whole months at Calcutta. Nor is that all; there are other troubles and other miseries to be undergone at that tribunal such as no one in Hindostan has ever seen, or so much as heard of. The least of which is that the English laws and statutes are so enormously voluminous, that were a man to spend his whole life on them, still the attaining a full knowledge would be impossible. After all these miseries how painful it must be to a man to be in the dark about the event, and all the while in a cruel suspense about his fate? constantly bereft of his family and beloved children, and without being able to guess at what is to become of himself at last."

H.

Princesse de Talleyrand.

While preparing the second edition of this book, I had the gratification of making the personal acquaintance of the widow of the Monsieur Colmache, the Secretary of Talleyrand, whose souvenirs I have expressed myself in the text as so much indebted to.

Madame Colmache is an English lady resident in London. She lived for many years in Paris, during five of which she was domiciled in the household of Prince Talleyrand. If this lady should ever see fit to bring together and publish her reminiscences of remarkable people and times, for the observation of which she had most favourable opportunities, her work ought to be not only historically interesting, but very agreeable reading, judging, if I may take the liberty of saying so, from the pleasant freshness with which in conversation she goes back to old times.

The personal recollection in which she was kind enough to especially interest me, related of course to Princesse de Talleyrand. Madame Colmache however knew nothing trustworthy of her pre-Talleyrand days, and could only speak of what she was in advanced

life, as she had never seen her until the Princesse had been long separated from Talleyrand. It was to the latter's credit that he always wished that the members of his household should pay the respect and courtesy of a duty-call on his wife, on certain annual fête days, even after they came to live apart. Madame Colmache has a vivid recollection of paying such a call at the house in the Rue de Lille on a new year's day. She recalls the hauteur which the old lady affected as she received her visitors seated on a high-backed chair on which the Talleyrand arms and motto appeared; these were displayed on several articles of furniture about the room, such as the stool on which her feet rested, the parrot's cage close by, etc. On another chair next her was her snuff box, as she freely indulged in the fashion of snuff-taking.

Her once luxuriant hair, which now bore evidence of the heavy hand of winter, was dressed with a sort of muslin coiffure from which descended bands or white ribbons (which might be described as chin stays) which partly covered the cheek and neck and caused the face to look dwindled, but which were not otherwise unbecoming, as they served to conceal some of the unwelcome encroachments of Time, who had so long proved debonair and gentle to the fair old dame. On the particular occasion referred to, the visitors were received in a room where the light was carefully subdued—almost excluded; and my informant remembers being struck by the fact that the Princesse was so sitting, that through a slit in the partially closed shutters, a ray of bright sunlight played on the top of her head, and lit up a solitary straying tress which still retained a tinge of its golden beauty—a veritable "rose in the wilderness left on its stem to show where the garden had been." It was therefore but the near tradition of Princesse de Talleyrand's beauty that Madame Colmache could personally testify to, and that this especially lay in her wonderful complexion and hair. So proud was the owner of these that she was accustomed to appear abroad attended by a negress, with the object, it was said, of giving effect by contrast to her most dazzling attractions.

On Madame Colmache being shown a photograph of the painting of Madame Grand, now in India, she said that the pose of the head and neck, and the large eyes, were very characteristic of the Princesse. But, more strange to say, she was much struck with an indefinable likeness in the photograph to something in Talleyrand's face, thus independently confirming in a great degree the remark made by Madame de Remusat about the facial similarity between Talleyrand and his wife. Madame Colmache is inclined to give

credence to the few anecdotes given in the text regarding Princesse de Talleyrand, and to others which testify to her often behaving after the manner of a bad type of parvenu. One of these is given in M. Colmache's recollections as follows:—

"I myself once witnessed a curious instance of that total forgetfulness of the '*jadis*,' which seems to be the peculiar failing of persons who have risen from obscurity to rank and fortune. I was one day descending from the *perron* of the hotel in the Rue St. Florentine, when a hackney coach entered the court yard and drove up to the vestibule. I was greatly surprised to behold alighting from it, fine as court-robes and towering plumes could make her, the Princesse de Benevent herself. I of course hastened down the steps to offer her my arm on alighting. 'My carriage struck against the lamp post at the entrance of the Tuileries,' said she in answer to my inquiring look, 'and the wheel came off. I was forced to return home in this absurd looking vehicle.' Then turning to the wondering lacqueys, she added in a tone of disgust and scorn which no language can describe, as she pointed to the coachman, 'Qu'on paie ce malheureux!'" Madame Colmache also believes in the answer attributed to Talleyrand when he said, either in seriousness or in fun, to one (Madame C. thinks to M. d'Aligre) who ventured to express astonishment that the Prince should have entrusted his happiness to such a *bête* as Madame Grand, "Voyez-vous une femme d'esprit compromet toujours son mari—une femme bête ne peut compromettre qu'elle meme."

It appears that at the time of the Princesse's last illness there was great excitement in the household of Talleyrand, who was also very ill himself at the time, as it was known that some inconvenient pecuniary complications might arise if Talleyrand were to die first. Messages therefore were incessant, Madame Colmache says, to the Rue de Lille, and when the Princesse's death was announced, it was felt to be a relief and a solution of a difficulty.

Madame Colmache remembers seeing a portrait of the Princesse in the possession of Talleyrand; it was in pastel, and the subject was represented in youthful loveliness. The portrait of her by Gérard to which I have referred in the text is a very small full length, taken probably about the time of her marriage with Talleyrand, or a little later, though in it she looks much younger than her years were then. The little portrait well brings out the rich beauty of her hair and complexion, to which no photograph could do justice. It was described for me as follows by the correspondent who wrote to me about her grave. A more recent

visit of my own to the Musée at Versailles enables me to endorse the faithfulness of the description.

"I had an opportunity of visiting Versailles and inspecting the picture of Madame de Talleyrand, and with some difficulty succeeded in finding the poor forgotten Beauty, for, whatever her mental and moral endowments may have been, that she was a woman singularly attractive in outward form, Gerard's 'counterfeit presentment' of her leaves no room to doubt. The portrait is that of a lovely highbred-looking young woman; tall and graceful, with exquisitely fair complexion, delicate colouring, wavy hair of the rare shade called *blonde cendrée*, dressed rather high on the head and curling over the temples; large blue eyes, small Greek nose, and little mouth with full red lips. She is attired in a low-necked and short-waisted dress, which appears to be of some soft filmy white material, probably Indian muslin, displaying a finely-moulded bust and arms, and tiny feet in white satin slippers.

"On neck, arms, and in her ears are pearl ornaments, and one hand, the right, holds an open letter, while the other hangs by her side. She is leaning against an open projecting French stove, on which are two brown Etruscan vases. Behind her are a drapery of green silk and a large cushioned sofa covered with the same material. . . .

"The picture hangs in the small ante-room of the second etage, attique du midi; it is between the portraits of Madame Recamier and Prince Talleyrand, and is numbered 4867."

I.

The Move to Chunar.

The impression seems to be very general that the night escape to Chunar by which Hastings and his party gave the slip to those who were preparing to attack his position at Benares, gave rise to the Hindostanee couplet so familiar to subalterns and others in India, viz.:—

"Ghore păr howdah, hathi păr zeen,
Jeldi bhag gya, Warren Hasteen."*

The circumstances of the move to Chunar leave no ground for the applicability of those lines to it. Hastings occupied some detached buildings known as Mahadur Dass Garden House in the suburbs of Benares; his wounded were a mile from there, and could not be protected—his whole position was untenable. He suddenly resolved to leave it, and to gain the open country before the enemy at Ramnugger, having any notice of his design, could cross and attack him in narrow streets and broken ground. Orders were issued only between seven and eight p.m., and by eight the line was in motion. "Having been retarded," Hastings writes in his official report of this matter, "and impeded by an incredible tumult of servants, palkis, and baggage of all kinds which for a time threatened total destruction to our march. Fortunately this enormous mass took the wrong road, which left the right one with a free and undisturbed passage for the Sepoys. On the way we past Captain MacDougal's battalion about 9 o'clock; we sent him timely notice of our movement; he turned and joined us. Early next morning we arrived at Chunar." Hastings' party, besides his suite, consisted of four hundred sepoys. He committed the wounded to the charge of Nawab Saadut Ally Khan, "who faithfully and liberally" took care of them till Hastings returned to Benares. The move was no doubt a hasty one, and entailed the temporary loss of or separation from the baggage. No account of it alludes to the presence of elephants amongst the party. There were two 6-pounder guns, dragged presumably by bullocks. One of his suite (G. F. Grand), who refers in a narrative to this night march, speaks of the Governor-General "trudging on foot through the narrow streets of Benares on one of the closest nights in that climate." Hodges, the artist, who was also of the party, alludes only to palanqueens as a means of conveyance. Young Colebrooke, who was Persian interpreter, says *some* of the gentlemen (himself included) were on horseback.†

No cotemporary account makes any reference to the presence of a hostile rabble, who, as the story goes, jubilantly improved the

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* "Saddle on elephant, howdah on steed,
Quickly he ran away, Warren Hasteen."

† See *Asiatic Quarterly Journal*, October, 1887.

occasion by shouting the above distich or some similar words. Those who refer the rhyme to a later occurrence and a much less important person are far more supported by probabilities, viz.—In the Maharatta campaign of 1804, Holkar with a large force compelled to a precipitate retreat a very much smaller one sent to watch him by Lord Lake. The latter force was commanded by Colonel Monson, and had enough to do in making its way to the shelter of Agra, hotly pursued by the Mahratta cavalry. Then the distich is said to have come into existence, the urgency and hurry of the retreat being signified by the saddles being thrown on the elephants and the howdahs on the horses. Some accounts that I have met with, while acknowledging that the lines were applied to Monson's force (Kulnel Munseen being substituted as the final words), insist that they were only a travesty on those first applied to Warren Hastings. As I have said, I am unable to trace any reasonable ground for the latter tradition, which certainly exists. The suspicion may without much violence to probability be hazarded, that the oft-quoted couplet in its present garb owes its origin to no more classical parentage than might have been forthcoming at some mess table in a British camp. As a matter of fact the couplet owes any interest attaching to it to its having been quoted, and its application misunderstood, by Bishop Heber in his Journal (1824). "Of the sultan-like and splendid character of Warren Hastings, many traits are preserved, and a nursery rhyme which is often sung by children, seems to show how much they were pleased with the Oriental (not European) pomp, which he knew how to employ on occasion, &c., &c." Readers need not be reminded that Macaulay fell into the same mistake, and adopted Heber's misapplication of the "jingling ballad" when painting Hastings as being "fond of state," and sometimes dazzling the natives with "more than regal splendour." The very reverse of all this would be nearer the truth. "I am averse to parade myself and have never used it"—is the expression of Hastings' own sentiments on the point. His customary disregard of state is strangely testified to by one who accompanied him on the very expedition to Benares of which the sojourn in Chunar was an incident. Mr. Hodges, R.A., in his "Travels in India," writes: "When the Governor-General went on shore" (*i.e.*, at Patna, on his way up) "it was scarcely possible to proceed from the multitude which pressed on every side to salute him. When he had passed them, all appeared struck with the simplicity of his appearance and his ready and constant attention to prevent any injury to the meanest individual from the irascibility of his chub-

dars or other servants who endeavoured to keep them from pressing in. They could not but contrast this appearance and conduct with that of their Nabobs, whom they had never seen except mounted on lofty elephants and glittering in splendour with their train, followed by the soldiery to keep off the multitude from offending their arrogance and pride."

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